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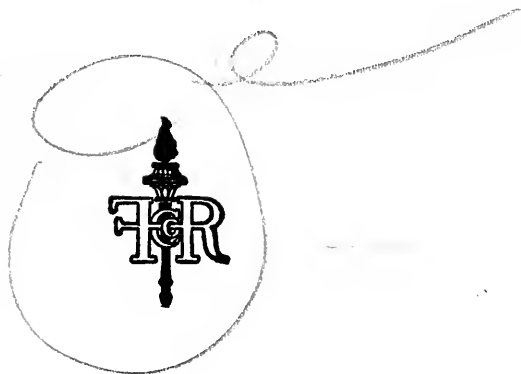
She has lived to the age of eighty-six, honored and respected by all who know her and greatly beloved by her nurslings.

3
*Issued under direction of The Council of
Women for Home Missions*

FROM DARKNESS TO LIGHT

THE STORY OF NEGRO PROGRESS

By
MARY HELM



NEW YORK CHICAGO TORONTO
Fleming H. Revell Company
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

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H47

Second Edition

New York: 158 Fifth Avenue
Chicago: 80 Wabash Avenue
Toronto: 44 Richmond Street, W.
London: 21 Paternoster Square
Edinburgh: 100 Princes Street

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5

*To
my faithful old nurse
"AUNT GILLY"
this book is dedicated
with tender love and
grateful memories*

JAN 31 1969

From the Editorial Committee

Text-books of the Home Mission Study Course

- " *Under Our Flag* " - Alice M. Guernsey.
" *The Burden of the City* " - Isabelle Horton.
" *Indian and Spanish Neighbours* " Julia H. Johnston.
" *The Incoming Millions* " Howard B. Grose, D. D.
" *Citizens of To-Morrow* " - Alice M. Guernsey.
" *The Call of the Waters* " - Katharine R. Crowell.
" *From Darkness to Light* " - Mary Helm

IT is with full appreciation of the complex and complicated character of the subject that the Committee sends forth this new text-book, "From Darkness to Light."

Of all the problems that press upon our national consciousness perhaps none is of vaster dimensions, more difficult of solution and more urgently insistent, than that of the social and religious uplift of the millions of black folk, for whom America is responsible, and to whom an assured and self-sustaining place must be given in the body politic.

Surely no nation was ever confronted by a more stupendous undertaking nor one more certainly destined to strain every fibre of the national mind and soul, than this of providing for the needs of a child-race, so different in colour and kind, suddenly released from all former con-

8 FROM THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

ditions of labour and social life, and unused to self-support or self-reliance in any phase of life.

Mistakes certainly there were, in dealing with a problem of such inherent difficulties ; were they not to be expected? But we must realize that on the whole the desire of the people of our land was to deal justly and helpfully with these dependent ones.

The author has written from an intimate personal knowledge of the subject and with sympathy and true discernment. Thank God the story *is* one of progress, though the upward way is darkened by many shadows and discouragements. It is a weary road by which this great dusky host, with faltering step, has struggled towards the light, God's unseen hand leading and guiding and still leading on to the time when they shall find place to live and love, to aspire and think, to work and to attain to that high ideal the Heavenly Father holds for all His children. For them also the Christ said, "I am come that ye might have life and that ye might have it more abundantly."

A study of this earnest, discriminating volume cannot fail to bring a fuller knowledge of the coloured American and his development, and a greater faith in the possibilities that lie before him when his hands shall have been trained to better service, his brain to clearer, truer thinking, his heart to finer perceptions of the pure and the good.

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FOREWORD

THE preparation of this book for a sensitively critical audience, in the North and in the South, has been a difficult and delicate task. I have given much prayer and study to it, and have tried to tell the simple truth as God has enabled me to see it. The greater part of it is the presentation of facts that show the processes of the evolution through which the Negro has passed from the African savage to the Christian citizen of America. Truth required that an even-handed justice should be used in dealing with these facts, and that the dark pages of his history be written as well as the bright, his sorrows as well as his joys, his vices as well as his virtues, his failures as well as his successes. That I have presented an optimistic instead of a pessimistic view of the Negro's condition is due to the fact that I believe in a gospel of hope; and I believe that he should have that hope set before him that he may the better run his race. We who would lend him a helping hand need the assurance that our work has not been for naught, and that we shall not labour in vain in the future.

What is known as the "Negro Problem" will be in the minds of all who read this book. All

my life I have lived close to, and loved, many of the race. And I have thought of them as men and women made of God for His glory, and not as a "Problem." I have made no attempt to solve the "Negro Problem," neither do I accept any solution that has ever been offered; I leave that to the prophets and statesmen yet to arise in both races who, with an all-wise, all-loving Heavenly Father, must work together to accomplish His divine will for the race.

That there is a problem none can deny. Every race has its problems of existence and development. So has every individual life in all its relations and efforts. No race liveth to itself or for itself alone. No real problem is simple and in its complexity it must be fairly estimated from every side. We must remember that the Negro problem is the Southern white man's problem as well. We must also keep in mind that it involves much more than the "colour line." It presents anew the old questions of evangelization and education, labour and capital, poverty and crime, that are clamouring for answer all over the world. When these have received a just and righteous solution, not much of the Negro problem will be left to solve. The industrious, educated Christian Negro offers no problem to-day, and when the race has passed through these processes of education and industrial training there will be no problem for the future. Let us not in our over-

weening pride of race forget that the Negro cannot reach his best state by obliterating his own race nature and by trying to clothe himself with the nature of another. Not only must his race integrity be preserved, but race respect requires that his development be in accordance with his own highest and best possibilities.

In his time of weakness and need the Negro has had the hand of benevolence overflowing with gifts constantly extended to him, but he must not linger at the "Beautiful Gate" of charity; he must heed as a clarion voice in his soul the command, "In the name of Jesus Christ, arise and walk." He must stand and walk on his own feet and earn his right to a place in the life and work of the world. That he is reaching the point when he can do this, when he will do it, I have tried to demonstrate by showing what he has done.

The first pages of this book were written on Christmas Day when through the writer's soul was sounding the angels' song, "Glory to God in the highest: on earth peace, good will to men." After a year its last pages go forth at the holy Christmas tide, freighted with the prayer that what is written may be for the glory of God and help to bring peace and good will among those who are working for the redemption of the race, North and South, white and black.

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I

THE SAVAGE

BIBLE LESSON

Is there a God beside me? Yea, there is no God ; I know not any. They that make a graven image are all of them vanity ; and their delectable things shall not profit.

He feedeth on ashes : a deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot deliver his soul, nor say, " Is there not a lie in my right hand ? "

Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.

For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.

Ask of Me and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.

At the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father.

I

THE SAVAGE

THE universal law of evolution, that of progressive development from the lower form to the higher, has made no exception of the human life. The history of all the different peoples composing the human race reveals their origin as very low in the scale of civilization. From a savage state they progress with more or less rapidity towards a higher plane of life. Some races have reached a fuller civilization and culture than others. With some the processes have been retarded and to them the term semi-civilized is applied, while of the still more backward races the term savage is used to describe their continued primitive condition.

The Negro race, as others, began in a condition of savagery. Owing to many contributing depressive causes the large mass of the race in its native African home remains in its native primal state. The Negro in America has escaped many of those retarding causes and has passed rapidly through processes of evolution until he has left the race as a whole far behind. This does not mean that he has lost race identity, but that race

progress is possible under the influence of a proper civilization.

In any study of the Negro in America it is well to know something of his origin and ancestry in his native land, that we may the more fully understand the hereditary traits, even beliefs, that influence the race as it is to-day in America.

The Negro race had and still has many subdivisions, nations, and tribes, differing as greatly from each other as the nations that go to make up the Caucasian race. We are versed in the characteristics that differentiate the peoples of Europe and their representatives coming to this land. We do not always consider this matter in dealing with the Negro, and do not realize how complicated is the study.

Dowd, in his valuable work, "The Negro Races, a Sociological Study," while using the word Negro as "a general term to include more or less of black skin and woolly hair," makes five divisions of the Negro race. These five divisions he subdivides into many tribes, having marked differences in their political, social, and industrial conditions and habits, and in their religious beliefs, or, rather, superstitions. In all, however, there are fundamental resemblances. In all there are to be found polygamy, slavery, and witchcraft, and their resultant evils.

Mr. Smythe, Minister from the United States to Liberia, and a native-born African, says that

he had knowledge of two hundred tribes on the west coast alone, and describes them as more unlike in their characteristics than French and Germans. This difference is manifested in colour, features, intelligence, and capability for acquiring the arts of civilization.

The Negroes in the United States came originally, to a large degree, from the western coast, and among them were representatives of many of these different tribes, and those differences that existed in Africa are still to be noted in their descendants by those who study them closely.

Notwithstanding the efforts to gain a foothold in Africa by the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, British, and French in the fifteenth century, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the *continent* of Africa was practically unknown to Europe save on its fringes. Possibly the best study of the conditions of the native African can be made of the people on the west coast, where there was originally the least contact and intermixture with the white race, and where, later, a larger knowledge of them was gained by the white peoples.

RACE TRAITS

While there was and is a marked difference between the great divisions of the African race, both in physical appearance and in many char-

acteristics, and while there are as varied customs and manner of life as there are tribes, yet there are fundamental traits which can be seen in all branches of the race. That there are different types is to a large extent due to the modifying effects of climate and contact with other peoples. Just as there is a colour line between the Negro, or "Black Race," and the white Caucasian, or yellow Mongolian, so there are mental traits that make as clear a demarkation between these great world races, and differentiate them to an even greater degree. The pigment under the Negro's skin and his kinky hair do not constitute the chief difference between him and the straight-haired white man.

It is impossible to give in detail the traits and characteristics of a race or people that will seem altogether correct, because of the many individual exceptions and class modifications. But there are a few traits so marked that they cannot escape observation.

SLAVERY

Negroes themselves have always practiced the slavery of one another. Before ever the slave trade brought to the outside world a larger knowledge of them, they held one another in bondage, as they do to-day. Slaves are the spoils of war, or reprisals for personal injuries ; they are used to pay debts—even a man's own

wife and children. The character of slavery varies in different sections from extreme mildness to great severity, but everywhere it is of the lowest grade in morals. Labour is intermittent, and the slaves, like their masters, are lazy and thriftless. They are used, however, in hunting and fishing, and as soldiers, especially in the slave-stealing raids on other tribes.

FAMILY LIFE

While tribal life is strong, family life as we regard it scarcely exists. There is no gathering around the table or the hearthstone; "naked children snatch a handful of food and lie down to eat and sleep like little cubs." If the family gather together at all it is under the command of the man for whom they are compelled to work as slaves.

The woman is a hard-worked slave from early morning till late at night. In the field with her baby strapped on her back, she carries loads heavy for a mule, supported by ropes across her forehead; she cooks for her husband, then watches him eat every crumb, leaving her hungry. "She is bought and sold, married and turned off, without regard for her preference. And when left a widow, she is inherited like other property by some man of her husband's family, perhaps his son. . . . Her virtue is held of no account. She has no innocent child-

hood, and when she wraps vileness about herself as her habitual garment, it is encouraged.”¹

Polygamy was and is practiced everywhere among native, unevangelized Africans. The only limit recognized is the man's purchasing ability, and the number of wives a man has increases the respect and honour in which he is held, since it indicates his wealth. Young girls are sold in infancy to polygamous husbands who can take them while yet children into the intolerable life of the *Kraal*—a life too brutish to bear description. “Marriage being a commercial or animal affair there is no romance connected with it. A suitor does not say, ‘I love this girl,’ but ‘I want her,’ and pays the price demanded for her. A woman is always treated as property, first by her parents, then by her husband.”² “Chastity among unmarried, or even betrothed women, is not at all valued or insisted upon in many tribes. In cases of seduction the man pays the price of the girl and no disgrace attaches to either sex. The universal understanding of adultery among the people is that of an offense with reference to married women only—not against chastity, but property.”³

The instinct of motherhood belongs to all animal life. With the heathen African mother,

¹ Parsons, “Christus Liberator,” p. 71.

² Bouche.

³ Dowd, “The Negro Races,” p. 136.

generally speaking, it is of short duration, as in the case of lower animals. It is limited to the period when the child is dependent upon her for nourishment.

If it falls she picks it up; if it cries she rocks it in her arms to make it hush; it is prevented from falling into the fire or into the well, but no affection or solicitude inspires the care of it. . . . As soon as it can walk it receives no further care. . . . When it reaches the age of seven or eight it is put to work, sometimes before that time. From the tenth year the discipline becomes more severe and lashes rain upon it if it commits a fault, or fails to do its part of the work. Its good and bad instincts are developed at haphazard. . . . We have lived several years in their midst and have never seen a mother embrace a child.¹

The affection of fathers for their children is naturally weaker and less enduring than that of the mothers. The love of children for their parents is also short-lived, lasting only during the time when they are physically dependent upon them. Old or sick parents are often abandoned without food or care.

RELIGION

The West Africans have a belief in a Supreme Being which has grown dimmer and dimmer with passing generations. This belief, however, had nothing to do with the practical life, for this Supreme Being was not even an object of wor-

¹ Foa, "Le Dahomy," pp. 111, 113, 194.

ship. The real religion of Africa was (and is) spirit worship, or, rather, the fear of evil spirits.

The Negro fancies the world is full of enemies, corporeal and spiritual, and is daily tortured with suspicions and superstitious fear. Every unusual place or object harbours a spirit presumably hostile. He sees in every person who has anything to gain by his death or misfortune an enemy who is trying, by means of charms, incantations, or witchcraft, to work him harm.¹

Dr. Nassau in his valuable work "Fetichism in West Africa" says :

They believe the spirits of the dead can return and wreak vengeance upon their enemies, or cause the death of those they wish to have with them. With this belief wives and slaves are to-day often sacrificed on the grave of a chief that they may attend him. They believe also that evil spirits make their abode in dangerous animals and in natural objects that have some unusual size or appearance, and so they make propitiatory prayers and offerings to them.

The priests are not much considered. It is the office of the priest to pray to the tribal and local spirits for the protection of his people, but it is the medicine-man who is the powerful personage with the spirits. To him the people go when ill or unlucky, and he performs incantations and dances while drums are beat and women sing weird songs. This goes on all night, and sometimes for three or four nights.

Sickness is not ascribed to natural causes, but is proof that the sufferer has been bewitched,—by an enemy of course. The witch must be hunted down and killed, no matter who it may be. Belief in witchcraft is one of the last to be undermined, and its power is both terrible and relentless.

Fetichism, like witchcraft, was and is a fearful and deep-rooted power among African tribes. Fear is the motive of the

¹ A. C. Good.



WITCH DOCTOR, FETICH MAGICIAN

*Dressed in palm and plantain leaves, and equipped with horns
wooden mask, spear and sword.*



AN AFRICAN KRAAL

fetich worshipper, though its outward expression in objects and rites may and does vary greatly in different localities and tribes.

In the heathen Negro's soul the fetich takes the place and has the regard which an idol has with the Hindoos and Chinese. A fetich, strictly speaking, is little else than a charm, or amulet, worn about the person or set at some convenient place to prevent evil or secure good.¹

In regard to the character of a fetich Dr. Nassau says :

A fetich is any material object consecrated by the "oganga," or magic doctor, with a variety of ceremonies and processes, by which some spirit becomes localized in that object, and subject to the will of the possessor. Anything that can be conveniently carried on the person may thus be consecrated,—a stone, chip, rag, string, or bead. Articles most frequently used are snail shells, nutshells, and small horns. Its value depends not on itself, but on the skill of the oganga in dealing with spirits. In preparing a fetich the oganga selects substances such as he deems appropriate to the end in view,—the ashes of certain medicinal plants, pieces of calcined bones, gums, spices, and even filth, portions of organs of animals, especially human beings (eyes, brain, heart, gall-bladder), particularly of ancestors or men of renown, or of enemies. Human eyeballs, particularly of a white person, are a great prize, and new-made graves have been rifled of them. They are compounded in secret, with the accompaniment of drums, dancing, invocations, etc., and are stuffed into the hollow of a shell, or bone, or smeared over a stick or stone. If it be desired to obtain power over some one else, there must be given to the oganga by the African, to be mixed in the compound, either crumbs from the food or clippings of finger nails, or hair, or (most powerful!), even a drop of blood of the person over whom influence is sought. These represent the life, or body, of that

¹ Nassau, "Fetichism in West Africa," p. 81.

person. So fearful are natives of power being thus obtained over them, that they have their hair cut only by friends; and even then they carefully burn it or cast it into a river. If one accidentally cuts himself, he stamps out what blood has dropped on the ground, or cuts out from wood the part saturated with blood. . . . The water with which a lover's body (male or female) is washed is used in making a philter to be mingled secretly in the drink of the loved one. . . . For every human passion or desire of every part of our nature, for our thousand necessities or wishes, a fetich can be made, its operation being directed to the attainment of one specified wish, and limited in power only by the possible existence of some more powerful antagonizing spirit.¹

The "witch doctor" is regarded with great respect and unbounded fear. "He cannot only deal herbs, but can foretell the future; he can change a thing into something else, or a man into a lower animal, or a tree, or anything; he can also assume such transformations himself at will."² Very frequently he is regarded as inspired, or possessed by a familiar spirit "through whose aid he makes his invocations and incantations and falls into cataleptic trances or 'Delphic rages.'"

In emerging from his heathenism and abandoning his fetichism for the acceptance of Christianity, no part of the process is more difficult to the African Negro than the entire laying aside of superstitious practices, even after his assertion that they do not express his religious belief. From being a thief he may grow to be an honest man; from being a liar, he can become

¹ Nassau, "Fetichism in West Africa," pp. 82, 83.

² Menzie, "History of Religion," p. 73.

truthful; from being indolent, he can become diligent; from being a polygamist, he can become a monogamist; from a status of ignorance and brutality, he can develop into educated courtesy. And yet in his secret thoughts, while he would not wear a fetich, he believes in its power, and dreads its influence if possibly it should be directed against himself.¹

There may be said to be two entirely different kinds of fetichism. Nassau uses for them the two terms, "white art" and "black art." The former has been described above and, as may be seen, its main purpose is to protect from evil spirits and to be used in preventing sickness and in securing "good luck." "Black art" consists of evil practices pursued to cause sickness or death. The Negro justifies the former and practices it openly. The practitioner of the black art denies it and carries on his practices secretly.

The slaves exported from Africa to the West Indies brought with them some of the seeds of African plants held by them as sacred to fetich in their native land. . . . They established on those plantations the fetich doctors, their dance, their charm, their lore, before they had learned English at all. And when the British missionaries came among them with church and school, while many of the converts were sincere, there were those of the doctor class who, like Simon Magus, entered into the church fold for the sake of gain by the white man's influence, the white man's Holy Spirit. Outwardly everything was serene and Christian. Within was working an element of diabolism, fetichism, there known by the name of *Obeah*, under whose leaven some of the churches were wrecked. And the same diabolism, known as hoodoo worship in the Negro com-

¹ Nassau, p. 101.

munities of the Southern United States, has emasculated the spiritual life of many professed Christians.¹

And, alas! we must accept the truth that "inbred beliefs, deepened by millenniums of practice, are not eliminated by even a century of foreign teaching. Costume and fashion of dress are easily and voluntarily changed; not so the essence of one's being." This evil religion came with the Negro slave to America, and unmistakable traces of it can be found to-day among the ignorant masses. "To overcome the inertia of ages, engendered in much of the continent of Africa by favouring soil and climate, and to displace the thirst for blood and for gold with a desire for peace and industry, requires rare patience and ability of a high order. How much greater the demand upon the spiritual nature, and when one must *create the ideas of holiness and virtue* by a stainless life before there can be any desire for better living."² This is the task that devolves upon those who seek to evangelize the African savage of to-day, and devolved upon those who sought to evangelize the African savage when he was transplanted to America.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was the original state of the whole human race, and the law of its evolution?
2. Is the Negro race an exception to this rule?

¹Nassau, p. 125.

²Beach, "Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions."

3. What do we know of the subdivisions of the race in Africa ?
4. What general conditions prevailed in all ?
5. What is said of slavery ?
6. Give a description of the family life.
7. What are the general nature and forms of their religion ?
8. Describe witchcraft and fetichism.
9. What kinds of fetichism do the terms "white art" and "black art" signify ?
10. What difficulties do these superstitions present to missionary work for the Negro in Africa and America ?



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II

THE BONDSMAN

BIBLE LESSON

I will call them My people which were not My people; and her beloved which was not beloved. And it shall come to pass in the place where it was said unto them, "Ye are not My people," there shall they be called the children of the living God.

And I will bring the blind by a way they knew not; I will lead them in paths that they have not known; I will make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight. These things will I do unto them and not forsake them.

This is a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them snared in holes, and they are hid in prison houses; they are for a prey, and none delivereth; for a spoil and none sayeth, Restore.

All things work together for good to them that love God, to them that are called according to His purpose.

II

THE BONDSMAN

THE SLAVE TRADE

WHILE slavery existed in all African tribes throughout the continent so far as known, it was left to the civilized nations—Portugal, Spain, England, Denmark and France—to extend the traffic by exporting slaves to other lands. This slave trade began in 1442 and continued for more than four centuries. To Protestant Christian England belongs the largest share of the infamy involved, for with her usual impelling force she soon outstripped all competitors. The traffic was legalized in 1562 and charters were granted to trading companies. She supplied her own colonies with slaves and her merchants secured the monopoly of the Spanish colonial slave trade. The United States followed the example set by the mother country and was not behind her in energy.

The horrors of the slave trade have been often described; they could not be exaggerated. There were continual scenes of raid, burning villages, fettered slaves, cruel beatings, and weary marches. The weak often perished on the way

to the slave ships which were waiting at the coast. Then followed the horrors of the "middle passage," when men, women and children were shackled and packed together in the ship's hold in suffocating masses to die or to live, as the chance might be. Imagination refuses to picture the agony the unfortunate captives must have endured during those long weeks ere they were unloaded in a strange land where they were to begin an entirely new existence.

The conscience of Christendom was not sleeping and her voice was not silent. Pitt and Fox fought against the slave trade in England and the opposition of some of the American colonies was great. As early as 1760 "an act of total prohibition in South Carolina was disallowed by Great Britain." In 1772 Virginia appealed to the King against "the pernicious commerce." Thomas Jefferson put into his original draft of the Constitution a clause indicting George III for maintaining this slave trade as a "piratical warfare." The clause was stricken out by Congress. Legislation, limiting and prohibitive, was passed again and again by the original thirteen states. Massachusetts passed such a law as early as 1641, at the time when her own Boston merchants were the largest importers.

Statements differ as to the date of the landing of the first African slaves in what is now the United States. One is that a Spanish ship

brought the first load as early as 1526. Another is that they were brought by the Dutch, twenty in number, in 1619, and were landed at Jamestown, Va. This last seems to have the best authority.

In 1807 laws to abolish the slave trade were passed in both England and the United States, and these went into effect the next year. At that time, after one hundred and eighty-eight years of the trade, 900,000 Negroes were in the United States. In 1860, fifty-three years later, that number had increased, by birth and continued importation, to 4,441,830. It has been claimed, and with a large degree of probability, that the law was often evaded and that slaves were smuggled into the country in large numbers at first, but that the numbers gradually decreased as the danger and frequent loss rendered the trade unprofitable.

SEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH

When first introduced into this country the Negroes were scattered in varying numbers throughout the colonies, or the states, as they became later. The conditions of climate and not public opinion influenced their distribution, and, finally, brought about their almost entire segregation in the South. The Northern slaveholders, finding them unprofitable in cold latitudes, did not pass emancipation laws until

nearly all had been sold into the Southern states, where the more genial climate made their labour more productive. Thus the South became charged with the life and destiny of the American Negro,—a responsibility greater than the profit to be gained and one that was to affect its own destiny, complicate its own life socially, industrially, politically, and leave it involved in a gigantic problem that must be worked out by the two races as they live side by side and work together with God.

CIVILIZATION A HARD AND DIFFICULT TASK

The pitiable condition of the Negroes when they were landed on our shores can hardly be described, yet the imagination has many solid facts on which it may base a picture. The rapid survey given of the condition of the African in his native wilds showed his state to be that of a degraded savage. To this must now be added the horrible results of his long voyage. Physically, suffering from disease and cruel wounds, often crippled, maimed or mutilated; mentally, absolutely ignorant of the demands of civilization, its dress and food, its customs, its labour, and its language; morally, vicious in habits, fierce and vindictive in spirit and having only the basest standard of life; spiritually, the fearful slave of evil spirits with a religion that was a foul compound of animalism and witchcraft;—yet

these poor, wretched savages were human beings with possibilities of suffering and sorrow, love, happiness, and righteousness that God alone knew at that time, but which the white people were to learn. There was no thought of preserving family ties,—these were destroyed when the victims were sold in Africa. Often utter strangers to each other, perhaps of warring tribes, and speaking different dialects, they were bartered like a herd of animals to white American masters for whom they naturally felt hatred as well as fear. These sentiments constantly threatened to break out into open mutiny, and they often did so, therefore close, often severe, control was resorted to in order to restrain them and insure the protection of the owners.

They were compelled to labour with unknown tools by commands given in an unknown tongue; to wear irksome clothing, to eat unfamiliar food; to submit to unknown and, to them, unreasonable restraints in habits and morals. Civilization had its price for the savage African as it has for all peoples.

On the other hand we can hardly conceive of the magnitude of the task which devolved upon the owners of these savages in civilizing, training, and evangelizing them. Such a task might well fill an angel's hands. And yet in a large degree, considering the circumstances, it was done, as we must believe when we compare these

imported Africans with their descendants at the time of their emancipation in 1862.

It is not necessary here to enter upon an arraignment or defense of slavery. If it was a sin it was a *national* sin, and the nation as a whole is responsible for it. And well may the people of all sections thank God that the institution of Negro slavery no longer exists in our country. Justice demands, however, that a true narration of the conditions of American slavery be given to exonerate a great and noble people from the accumulated misrepresentations of generations,—a people who, while seeking to fulfill rightly its inherited task, bore a burden that none but themselves understood, not the least of which was the misunderstanding of those who had helped to lay that burden upon them. Surely the time has come when *all* are willing to hear something of the true story of American slavery. Justice to the Negroes also demands that it be shown that they were capable of taking advantage of the restraints of civilization, the industrial training and the gospel opportunities of slavery, to rise to a higher plane than that of their African ancestors.

EXTENT OF SLAVE OWNERSHIP

The limited extent of slave ownership is often a matter of surprise to those who learn the facts for the first time. Prof. G. W. Dyer in his valu-

able work, "Democracy in the South Before the War," presents the following statistics :

From the census of 1860 we learn that the total white population in the Southern states was 8,179,356; while the number of slaveholders in all these states was only 383,637 and the total number of slaves was 3,948,713; the average number of slaves to each owner was ten. Only about one-fourth of Southern men owned any slaves at all, and one-fifth of that one-fourth owned only one slave; and more than half of all the slaveholders owned less than five. There were about 2,300 men that owned more than 100, and only fourteen that owned more than 500.

Professor Dyer says further :

Slave labour was just as expensive in the South before the war as free labour would have been under similar economic conditions. . . . The owners had to look after every interest of the slave,—his food, clothing, shelter, health, his habits and his discipline—and not for the working slave only, but for those incapacitated for work by sickness, old age and infancy, and this in hard times as well as flush, for the unworthy and for the worthy. . . . The fact that hundreds of thousands of free white men were employed in the South before 1860 and received as high wages as farm-hands in the North, shows that there was no special advantage in slave labour.¹

The selling of slaves, especially in a way to separate families, was not so frequent as those at a distance imagined. In 1860 there were thousands of them who had been owned generation after generation by the same family. There were also many thousands who had been emancipated

¹ Dyer, "Democracy in the South Before the War," pp. 41-44.

by their masters. Before the Civil War the free Negro population in the South was estimated at over a quarter of a million. While by far the larger number of these were idle and shiftless, many were honest and industrious artisans who plied their trades among both white and black people. Some of this better class owned valuable property, and in a few instances they were not only land owners but *slave* owners.

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS

There were a large number of slaves who served a regular apprenticeship at many trades and became skilled workmen. Some of these rendered valuable service on the plantations, others were hired out by their masters to contractors, and still others were allowed to "hire their own time" and make monthly or annual settlement with their masters. The Negro artisan worked side by side most amicably with the white man following the same trade.

The vast majority of the slaves were employed in agriculture and domestic service. There was a marked difference between those known as "farm-hands" and the "house servants." The position of the latter being regarded as higher and the work lighter, it was eagerly desired and sought. This difference was more marked on large plantations in the far South than on the small farms in the Border states.

PLANTATION LIFE

The plantation Negroes were generally the latest arrivals from Africa and those of the lowest tribal type. These were being constantly reinforced by the worst specimens from other sections. Being "sold down South" was frequently the punishment for offenses that now send them to the penitentiary. The threat of it often proved an efficacious restraint upon bad propensities.

On the large sugar, rice and cotton plantations where they dwelt in large numbers and came very little into contact with the white race, the gain for the Negroes for a long time was only in settled habits of industry and in learning obedience to law. It seemed impossible for even this to be accomplished without force and, since the ordinary plantation overseer was not always what he ought to have been, any more than industrial subordinates or city police are to-day, *brutal* force was undoubtedly often used rather than Christlike patience and instruction in righteousness. This was more frequently the case where plantations suffered from the evils of "absenteeism," but many times the returning owner indignantly corrected abuses and discharged the overseer. In the hands of wicked men the power of the owner was abused, as power always has been and always will be by the unrighteous the world over. It should not, however, be forgotten that many of the punishments inflicted by the

owner upon slaves were for such offenses as in this day send both white and black culprits to the jails and penitentiaries. The effect upon the character of the offender and in the prevention of crime was far more satisfactory, and especially so if the criminal was young.

The large majority of Southern slaveholders felt an honourable responsibility for the care and protection of their slaves, aside from pecuniary interest, even though such care should lessen their financial profits. Beyond this, they felt an indulgent compassion, that deepened into love for the helpless folk dependent upon them. They looked at them *en masse* and saw racial inferiority in mind, body and morality, and did not expect from them what they did from white people. Any one going upon a plantation to-day where Negroes work in large numbers, either in America or elsewhere, will receive the same impression without, possibly, the same indulgent feeling.

The plantation Negroes lived in little villages known as "the quarters," each family, usually, in a house of one or two rooms. The character of these houses as to appearance and comfort varied with the financial ability or humanity of the owner. Some slave owners were poor, or involved in debt, and lived poorly themselves, while others, alas ! lacked the Christly love that gives attention to the conditions of the unfortu-

nate. Generally speaking, the houses for the slaves would bear comparison with the homes of the peasant class in many lands, and were far less crowded and more sanitary than the houses occupied by the lower class of labourers, white or black, in some of our cities to-day. The Negroes of the South corresponded to the *poor* people of other countries, and poverty anywhere means the lack of luxury and, sometimes, of the necessities of life; yet these last the Southern slave never lacked. To this statement there are a thousand witnesses to one against it. The food and clothing given them were good and sufficient for the climate—very plain, of course, but satisfying and clean. Where the climate required a fire there was always an ample supply of fuel, and there never was any rent to pay, nor bills for physician and drugs. The old, the young and the sick were even more the recipients of such provision than the labourer, and from his shoulders the burden of caring for these was lifted.

The hours of work, as is usual for farm-hands, were regulated by the length of the season's day, the weather, and the physical condition of the individual. No work was required of the old or feeble beyond what they were capable of rendering. The expectant mother and the nursing mother were guarded from overwork. On some plantations mothers were given no work that took them away from their little children; on

others, the children were put in the care of a woman called a "tender," who kept them in what we now call, "a day nursery" or "crèche." There was no thought of "child labour" as it is now understood; generally only a few trivial tasks were given children before they were ten or twelve years old, and later on their work was regulated to suit their years and strength. They were not confined as our white children are to-day in mills and factories and sweat-shops.

Saturday afternoons, Christmas week and the Fourth of July were by almost universal custom regarded as holidays, and no work was required except feeding the stock. These holidays were spent by the thrifty in the "truck gardens" usually allowed them, or on any kind of job work by which they could make money for themselves, such as the making of baskets, brooms, shuck mats, etc., while the fun-loving spent them in hunting, fishing, dancing, and play. Sunday was a day of rest, wherein they loafed or slept except during the hours of worship. Religious services were conducted in a house built for the purpose, or in a barn or gin-house cleaned for the occasion, the preacher being either a white "missionary" or one of their own race,—sometimes the master or mistress.

The marriage relation was encouraged by owners and accounted honourable among themselves, though the disregard of it was frequent, as

is the case with the lower, ignorant class everywhere. When compared with the unrestrained licentiousness of their savage past, this was slight indeed. With sorrow it must be said that the most grievous sin of the Negro race is its unchastity, and the task of restraining the passions has always presented the greatest hindrance to the evangelization and civilization of this people. It is needless to seek an excuse for this in the compulsion of slavery, or in the fact that marriages had no *legal* sanction. Impurity, thieving, and lying are the trio of vices that the missionary has had to fight in Africa. They were fought by missionaries and Christian owners before emancipation, and they must be fought to-day by those of either race who seek to bring the Negro into fellowship with Christ.

To sell liquor to a slave was illegal and subjected the seller to punishment, hence there was little drunkenness among them; and there was little occasion or opportunity for gambling on the plantation. The restraints of slavery saved them from these vices that to-day are doing much to destroy them.

Negroes were not allowed to leave the plantation after nightfall without a written permit from the owner. If one was found out without this "pass" he was subject to arrest by the rural police, called "patrols," or, as the Negroes pronounced it, "patter-rollers." This restraint pre-

vented much roguery and was especially helpful in keeping young men from night dissipation, and it left them in better condition for the morrow's work. Within the bounds of the plantation there was little or no restraint placed on their frolics and fun-making. On such occasions their joyous temperament and natural gayety found such expression as made it hard to believe that they were "miserable and unhappy." Marriage off the plantation was not encouraged. In some cases it was forbidden. The custom in such marriages was to allow the husband, if the distance was not great, to go every night to the home of the wife; if distant, to go Saturday night and remain till Monday morning. The children of such marriages belonged to the owner of the wife.

There were no schools for the Negroes, and with but few exceptions the plantation Negroes were absolutely illiterate, yet there was a certain amount of education and mental development that came with training in diversified industries, and with the learning of a new language by those who were brought here as adults. There was also much verbal teaching among them in the way of songs, recitations, and story-telling. A considerable amount of valuable information was imparted by their "wise ones," gained by close observations of nature in its various forms, to which they added shrewd "sayings" and wise proverbs full of common sense.

DOMESTIC SERVANTS

The "house servants" formed a class quite distinct and socially above the field hands, and even among them there were degrees, something after this fashion: the children's nurse—"mammy"—the butler, the carriage driver, the gentleman's "body servant," the "lady's maid," the cook, the gardener. All of these held sway in certain realms of their own, the dignity of which they tried to impress on others while they enjoyed their advantages and perquisites. Next to these was the "head man" (known only in fiction as the "driver") of the farm-hands. He was most frequently a man of fine character as well as of physical prowess and respected alike by white and black.

The house servants were generally chosen from among their fellows because of their intelligence and good appearance, or because their parents had been in the house. Their close association,—for it was very close, intimate, and affectionate,—with the white family and their guests, gained for them a certain sort of culture of mind, morals, and manners totally unknown to the mass of their people. Many of them read well. They were loyal to the last degree to the white family and its traditions, identifying themselves with it to the extent of feeling themselves a part of it in joy or sorrow, and having a sense of ownership in all that belonged to it.

They were in turn trusted and loved by their white people, and thus was formed a bond so strong that not even the great war was able to sunder it.

Those who did not know personally the relation between the "Black Mammy" and her nurslings can never understand it. The heart grows tender, the eyes moist, in recalling the dear black face that so often bent over the writer of these pages and the sheltering arms that held her in sleep or sickness, the sympathetic consoler in childish troubles and the instructor in manners, all summed up in "Mammy," otherwise "Aunt Gilly," "Faithful until death." She was a type of hundreds of others, and all through the South there are white men and women who have the same tender memories of their loving nurses. The same feeling in a lesser degree extended to many "Uncles" and "Aunts" and playfellows.

Many a Southern home was a better model for an industrial school than some that have been established of late years for white and black girls and boys. The training was individual, thorough, practical, and the result the finest domestic service that ever existed. The men and women who owned the Negroes were not luxurious idlers, as they have often been represented. The Southern mistress, besides being a notable housekeeper and a devoted mother of many children, was often a combination of "a head resident in a settle-

ment," a "health officer," a "superintendent of nurses," a "director of industries," a "confidential adviser and umpire" of family and neighbour difficulties, with many minor duties. She looked after and required the sanitary condition of the "cabin" and the personal habits of its occupants. In sickness she visited the sick constantly and often administered the medicine and prepared the food with her own hands. She looked after the babies and instructed the mothers in their care. She comforted the sorrowing, rejoiced with the happy, and, if she herself were a Christian, pointed the dying to Christ. She or her daughters were often the Sunday-school teachers of the children, and read the Bible to the old and sick in their cabins.

EVANGELIZATION

Imported along with others of their tribe came the "witch doctors," or medicine-men, and these by their knowledge of the secret things of their profession and by the desire to preserve their power over the people (with the gains of it) did more than anything else to hinder the evangelization of the Negroes. Fear of the malevolent use of the witch power was the largest cause of their influence over the timid; and with the wicked there was a desire to secure their help in furthering their own evil purposes. This "power" was possessed as often by women as by

men, and was a terrible weapon in the hands of jealousy, envy, and anger, and its results were manifested in the failing health and sometimes in the death of its victims. The explanation may be found in some degree in mental suggestion and nervous terror, but also, though in possibly a lesser degree, in the use of poisons, the secret of which was brought from Africa. This practice of the "black art" of fetichism was hidden with cunning wisdom from the whites, especially from the master except in sad cases of sickness when the sufferer would be pronounced "conjured." For these medical treatment was of little avail.

It was a secret religion that lurked thinly covered in slavery days, and that lurks to-day beneath the Negro's Christian profession as a "white art," and among non-professors as a "black art"; a memory of the revenges of his African ancestors; a secret fraternity among slaves of far distant plantations, with words and signs,—the lifting of a finger, the twitch of an eyelid,—that telegraphed from house to house with amazing rapidity (as to-day in Africa) current news in old slave days and during the Civil War; suspected but never understood by the white master; which, as a superstition, has spread among our ignorant white masses as the "hoodoo." Vudu, or Odoism, is simply African fetichism transplanted to American soil.¹

It is almost impossible for persons who have been brought up under this system ever to divest themselves fully of its influence. It has been retained among the blacks of this country, though in a less open form, even to the present day, and probably will never be fully abandoned until they have made much higher attainments in Christian education and civilization.²

¹ Nassau, p. 274.

² Wilson, "Western Africa."

A statement of these conditions shows the great difficulty that was encountered in teaching the gospel of purity and truth to a people many of whom were born savages, or were but one generation removed from savagery. Yet faithful men and women of God wrought a great work for their Lord in bringing thousands, yes, hundreds of thousands of these poor heathens and semi-heathens to know and love the Christ. There have been many "simple annals of the poor" Christian Negroes preserved that thrill the heart to gladness in Jesus, for that He hath redeemed unto Himself many peoples of many nations—stories they are of humble faith and unswerving devotion to God, of patient unselfishness towards others, of joy in the Lord, and of power in intercessory prayer for the sinner.

In considering the Christianization of the African savages who dwelt in this country as slaves, conditions should be frankly stated in order to understand not only the missionary efforts of the churches and Christian workers, but also the difficulties and, at times, the almost insurmountable hindrances that attended those efforts and lessened their results.

1. The public opinion of an age that permitted the slave trade was not favourable to a Christlike attitude towards the slave, or a recognition of his spiritual nature and its needs.

2. The majority of the colonists came to

America to improve their fortunes, and the purchase of slaves was simply a commercial transaction. Many of these were not Christians themselves and, as a matter of course, cared nothing for the salvation of others, either white or black. This class of men in that day, as in this, easily persuaded themselves into thinking that all religion was either superstition or hypocrisy, and that the Negroes were better off without it. The worst of them exercised their power in refusing religious opportunities to their slaves.

3. Certain uprisings of dissatisfied slaves in different parts of the country made it necessary in the minds of some to prevent all large gatherings among them with the possibilities which they offered of fomenting and planning disturbances; and, as religious gatherings were sometimes used for this purpose, they were also at times disallowed,—and in some places laws were passed forbidding them as well as others. This was especially true during the period immediately following the early abolition movement and the intolerance which accompanied it.

4. The low, vicious nature of the savage and semi-savage Africans made then, as now, any missionary effort among them difficult and slow. They were imbued with the basest superstitions and clung to their fetich with unreasoning fear. Their spiritual faculties were so dormant that they often seemed incapable of spiritual percep-

tion of any kind. Their physical habits and immoral practices were so filthy and debasing that their moral degeneracy opposed bitterly the doctrines of purity and truth, and even when Christianity was accepted many adherents would not regard its ethics.

5. On the plantations there were many who did not know enough English to understand the words of the preacher and they were so stupid that they could never learn it, and their own language possessed no spiritual terms that would properly convey to them the gospel of love and purity. Over this class of native Africans and their children the witch doctor had as much fearful power as in the wilds of Africa.

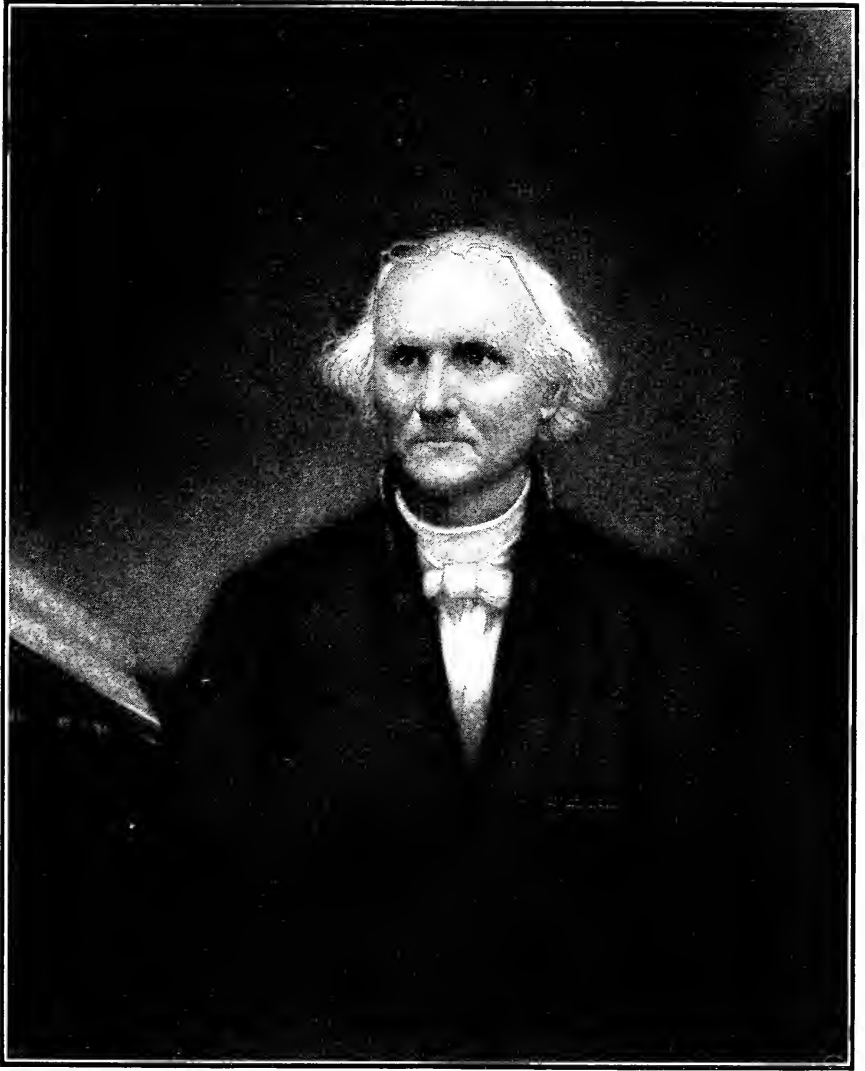
6. The turbulent state of mind preceding and during the Revolutionary War, and the unsettled conditions which followed it and which led to the Western movement, were unfavourable to all religious life.

7. The infidel propaganda of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Paine that swept through Christendom like a poison virus turned away many hearts from Christ and righteousness. Its influence was felt from New England to the Carolinas, in the Eastern cities and the wildernesses of the West. Slave owners infected by it, bitterly resented or ridiculed the efforts of preachers, or even of their own Christian wives, to teach the Negroes belief in God. The unshaken faith and Christian cour-

age of American women during that time of apostasy was the leaven that saved this country for Christ. Later, great revivals swept over the country and the quickening of the Holy Spirit was felt by both white and black,—master and slave often being converted at the same “mourner’s bench.” One of the important results of these revivals was the increased sense of responsibility felt by masters for the religious instruction of their Negroes.

In and through all these difficulties and adverse influences the Church of God and His faithful children never ceased their efforts to save the poor African slaves. And God was fulfilling His promise that His Word should not return unto Him void. The seed of the Word was falling upon hearts prepared by the Spirit to receive it, and was bearing fruit to the glory of God in the conversion and daily life of more and yet more of the slaves. The history of this missionary movement is as interesting as any that has been written of Africa, and the results are more wonderful.

In the year 1842 Rev. C. C. Jones, of Savannah, Georgia, a Presbyterian minister of high reputation, published a book on “The Religious Instruction of the Negroes of the United States.” In 1893 Rev. W. P. Harrison and Miss A. M. Barnes as collaborators published a book called “Gospel Among the Slaves.” They brought



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Later Bishop of Methodist Episcopal Church, South
"Founder of Plantation Missions to Slaves"

the historical treatment down to 1865 and at the same time made large use of Dr. Jones' book. From these two publications a summary has been made that will give some idea of the extent of the work participated in by all the churches then existing in the South. For the sake of clearness and accuracy the account is given denominationally, with no purpose or desire to exploit the achievements of any one of them.

The first organized effort to give gospel instruction to the Negroes in the American colonies was made in 1701 by the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" incorporated under William III with the Bishop of Canterbury for its president. The first missionary, Rev. Samuel Thomas, began work in South Carolina where he and his successors met with the "ready good will of the masters, though much discouragement was felt because of the difficulties of the task, not many of the Negroes understanding the English tongue." The zeal of the Society and its missionaries increased, and in less than forty years the report was made of "great multitudes of Indians and Negroes brought over to the Christian faith" in different parts of the country, and, later, of a flourishing school at Charleston sending out annually about twenty young Negroes well instructed in English and the Christian faith.

After the separation of the colonies from the mother country the Protestant Episcopal Church

took up the work of the English Society with increased interest and zeal, and in 1841 it reported in South Carolina alone 869 coloured members in twenty-two churches, and fifteen Sunday-schools with 1,459 pupils, and also two plantation missions with congregations of 1,400 Negroes. In Virginia a similar work was being done by the same methods.

A direct effort for the religious instruction of the Negroes was begun by Presbyterians in 1747 at Hanover, Virginia, with immediate success. About 1,000 Negroes attended the ministry of Rev. Samuel Davis at different points; they were eager to hear the Gospel and readily accepted it. Other missions were established and many godly men devoted their time to the work among the slaves both in the towns and on the plantations. Sunday-schools were established and the Bible and catechism were taught. The greatest work of this Church was in printing and freely distributing sermons and books addressed to the owners, urging them to give religious instruction to their servants. Their synods and presbyteries adopted resolutions impressing this duty upon the masters, while increased efforts to evangelize the Negro continued fruitful in results until retarded by the abolition excitement in the free states between the years 1839 and 1842.

As the result of sweeping revivals in the Baptist Church about 1785 and 1790, large numbers

of Negroes were converted and joined that Church. In 1793 its coloured members numbered over 18,000 and twenty years later there were enrolled 40,000 members and a number of preachers and exhorters who preached to thousands of their own colour on the plantations. In 1841 there were attached to this Church more Negro communicants and more regular houses of worship exclusively for Negroes, with their own ordained preachers, than to any other church. Many Sunday-schools were reported with large numbers of pupils. In 1860 the number of Negro Baptists was estimated at 400,000. Counting three adherents to each of these baptized adults we have 1,200,000 Negroes under the instruction and influence of that Church.

One of the first missionaries of Methodism in the United States (1766) reports successful work among the Negroes. In describing a Virginia revival in about 1770 he says, "Hundreds of Negroes were there with tears streaming down their faces . . . as they expressed their love for Jesus." In 1797 there were 12,215 coloured members and in less than twenty years later there were nearly four times that number. The objections made at first by slave owners to these efforts to Christianize the Negroes passed away as they witnessed the effect of the Gospel upon them and the preachers were encouraged and aided in their labours, especially in the plantation

missions, until suspicion of their motives was aroused by the anti-slavery movement in the Church. Later, this being removed, the work again prospered. In 1861 the coloured membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church *South* was 207,776. Counting three adherents to each enrolled member, we have 623,328 Negro slaves under the instruction of this Church.

At the beginning of the Civil War (1860) the census reports the Negro population of the South as 4,097,111. In the Baptist and Methodist Churches alone 607,776 Negroes were enrolled as baptized members, and instructed adherents were estimated at 1,823,328. Add to this the membership and adherents of the Presbyterian, Episcopal, Moravian, and Negro Baptist Churches (of whom no records could be obtained) and there must have been over 2,000,000 Negroes in the Southern states who were either professing Christians or under direct Protestant Christian influence and instruction,—nearly one-half of their whole number. Of the other half there were hundreds, possibly thousands, of Roman Catholics, and there must also have been large numbers to whom the Gospel had been preached and who refused to receive it.

In the North in 1860 there was a Negro population of 338,598 of whom we can claim that an equal proportion were Christians and under Christian instruction.

Does the history of missions present any parallel to this?

METHODS OF WORK

This great work was accomplished largely by the direct preaching of the Gospel, aided by much personal work of missionaries and Christian owners, and also by careful instruction in the Bible and catechism. It was usual in the towns for both races to be members of the same congregation, to worship in the same house (separate sittings being provided for the coloured members), and to receive the sacrament from the same altar. In some instances separate churches were built for them, where they were preached to by white pastors or approved coloured ministers.

The necessity for a different provision for evangelizing the large masses of the Negroes who were on the plantations became apparent as early as 1821, and "plantation missions" were organized to meet the needs, first by the Methodists in South Carolina and afterwards in other sections and by other churches. Place is given here for a description of that work from an address by Rev. L. F. Beaty, D. D., before the historical society of the South Carolina Conference, because what he says is applicable to the same class of work done all through the Southern states.

It was found that the regular ministry did not reach the river deltas of the "low country" where on sugar, rice, and cotton plantations were segregated large numbers of Negroes who had but few advantages of civilization, and little knowledge of God and His Word. But the day of their deliverance was at hand. . . . In 1821 the Missionary Society of the South Carolina Conference was organized, and with it began an increased attention to the religious improvement of the blacks. Doctor Capers, afterwards Bishop, was profoundly interested, and through him appeals came to send regular missionaries to their slave plantations from Hon. Chas. C. Pinkney, Col. Lewis Morris, and Mr. Chas. Baring—names written high in the annals of the state. These gentlemen and many others were ever after warm supporters of this cause, and by their strong personal influence contributed largely to its ultimate success.

Not only were these South Carolina planters interested in the salvation of their slaves, but the Southern people as a whole demanded kind treatment and religious training in their behalf, as witness the later fact that a great statesman of Mississippi, almost omnipotent in political influence, was hurled from place and power because he was regarded as unsound on the great issue—plantation preaching. . . . The assistance which many of the planters and their families gave the missionaries was invaluable. They not only provided places of worship, but they did all they could to encourage the attendance of the Negroes upon religious services. They assisted in teaching the little Negroes the Word of God, and in the absence of the missionary, held religious services for the older ones. Many a dying slave had the couch of death softened by the tender ministrations of these faithful Christian owners: . . . One of the most interesting sights in plantation life was the missionary's arrival; his hearty greeting from scores and sometimes hundreds of little Negroes, crying, "Preacher's come!" which was followed by a general preparation for the catechizing service, the singing of hymns he had taught them, and prayers. . . . Often the master and his family took part in the service held in a plain church prepared for it. . . . After this

came the class-meetings conducted by the preacher, and they were fruitful of good. The prayer-meetings were often occasions of great power and blessing. Besides faithful catechizing all ages were taught the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. Visits were made by the preacher to the aged and sick, and oftentimes the cabin home became the very antechamber of heaven.

The first missionaries appointed (by the South Carolina Conference) to the people "of colour" (in 1829) were John Honour, John H. Massey, and James Dannelly, under the superintendence of Dr. Capers, and 657 members were gained during the year. In 1838, only nine years later, there were in that Conference 6,556 members in the twelve plantation missions (besides the 23,498 members in the regular charges), and 25,025 Negro children studying the catechism prepared by Bishop Capers. In 1864 in that one state alone there were thirty-two missionaries giving their whole time to this work, with 13,373 members of the missions, and \$42,475 collected for its maintenance (and this notwithstanding the war was in progress with its "hard times"). In 1844 the ten Southern Conferences contributed \$22,379 to the support of sixty-eight plantation missions having a membership of 21,063 and seventy-one missionaries.

This work was accomplished in the face of many difficulties—but a still greater was added in the antagonism aroused in the public mind by the attitude of the Church towards slavery. The General Conference of the Methodist Church in 1800 condemned Negro slavery in strong terms and urged its abolishment. The resolutions embodying this pronouncement were published, probably, by every newspaper in the South, and this was calculated to destroy the Methodist Church in that section. Later, stringent enact-

ments and a continual agitation of the subject embittered many against the Church. The anti-slavery sentiment was stronger at the South before this position was taken than it was at any subsequent time. It proved to be injurious to the preachers, the Church, and to the slaves themselves. Every Methodist preacher was regarded as an abolition agent, and indiscreet ones among them, trying to carry out the resolutions of the Conference, brought upon themselves the violence of the lawless elements of society. Persecution against those who undertook to preach to the Negroes was now rife in every direction.

No apology can, or ought to be, made for those miscreants who resorted to violence in their treatment of Methodist preachers, not because they cared for the slaves or their masters, but because they loved deeds of violence. But the truth of history requires it to be stated that the Methodist Church had assumed the position of an abolitionist society, and it was natural that this should excite the suspicions of the slaveholders, arouse the animosity and opposition of those who were non-Christian, and render the Church generally unpopular. It required almost a whole generation of time to overcome this hostility. Where the Negroes were mingled with the white family, worshipping under the same roof and taught by the same minister, it was easy enough to break down the prejudice.¹

But on the large plantations, where the overseer and his family were the only white people, who could assure the owner that under the pretense of preaching the Gospel his Negroes would not be stirred up to rebellion?

¹ "Gospel Among the Slaves," p. 143.

Violent expressions of disapproval of abolition doctrines were not limited to the South. William Lloyd Garrison was mobbed and dragged through the streets of Boston in 1835, barely escaping with his life, and the entire press of the city, with one or two exceptions, approved the action of the mob. The English abolitionist, George Thompson, had a narrow escape from a mob in Concord, Massachusetts, and also in Augusta, Maine. Whittier was pelted with mud and stones. Prudence Crandall, for teaching coloured girls in Canterbury, Conn., was subjected to persistent, barbarous persecution. The shops and meeting-houses were closed against her and her pupils. "Carriage in public conveyance was denied them; physicians would not wait on them; Miss Crandall's own family and friends were forbidden under many fines to visit her; the well was filled with manure, and water from other sources refused; the house itself was smeared with filth, assailed with rotten eggs, and finally set on fire."¹ At last Miss Crandall was expelled from the state by law, and an act was passed by the legislature prohibiting private schools for non-resident coloured people and providing for their expulsion. At Canaan, New Hampshire, the Noyes Academy, "open to pupils of both colours," in pursuance of a formal town-meeting vote was dragged from the land within the cor-

¹ "Life of William Lloyd Garrison," p. 321.

porate limits of the town and the teacher and coloured pupils given a month in which to quit the town.

✓ It was largely left to the Methodist preachers in the South to stem this opposing current of public opinion. The example of the illustrious Bishop Capers was followed by many of the preachers, and the owners, becoming convinced that, instead of creating trouble and strife, the preaching of such men as these did much to preserve peace and good conduct among the Negroes, gave their full consent for their slaves to hear the Gospel from these white missionaries.

The division of the Methodist Church in 1844 was regarded by wise and good men of that time as a necessity to prevent the destruction of the Methodist Church in the South.¹ The immediate result of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church *South* was the breaking down of every barrier in preaching the Gospel to the slaves. The call for missionaries was heard in every part of the South where large numbers of slaves existed.

The religious sentiment of the whole Southern country became keenly and jealously aroused in behalf of slave missions.

¹ Reference is made to the division of the Methodist Church because of its historical importance and wide-spread effect on this work among the slaves. The divisions that occurred in other churches were later, and had little or no connection with slavery.

Every effort within the power of her Christian people was put forth to furnish the Negro, especially the plantation Negro, the light of the Gospel. Men, women, and even little children contributed to the fund. . . . High and low alike entered into this noble work. There was no phase of it too humble, no duty too unpleasant, to deter the most earnest and painstaking effort.¹

The Methodist Episcopal Church South never held in its richest churches, or sent to any mission field, men of higher order of intellect, culture, or consecration than those who were appointed by it as superintendents and pastors of its missions among the Southern slaves. Bishops Andrew, Capers, Early, McTyeire, and Fitzgerald; Drs. McFerrin, Evans, and many others, though called in after years to fill the highest offices in the Church, accounted among their richest experiences and happiest work that which came to them as missionaries to the Negroes.

There was scarcely any comparison now between the condition of these plantation Negroes and their state when this work of evangelization was begun among them. Then, "Ignorant, superstitious, grossly immoral, it was like seeking to pierce impenetrable darkness. Thousands of them could speak English in only a broken way, while hundreds still jabbered their African dialects. It was pitiful to hear them trying to pray in their broken language."² Now, many of those

¹ "Gospel among the Slaves," p. 302.

² *Ibid.*, p. 305.

who had received the gospel seed in hearts made fertile by the Holy Spirit, became themselves the sowers of the Word. And so this work of grace grew and multiplied, until thousands and thousands were converted to Christ and by their lives showed forth His righteousness.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Tell of the slave trade and describe the condition of the Negroes when brought here.
2. What caused their segregation in the Southern states?
3. What difficulties attended their civilization?
4. What was the extent of slave ownership and what remuneration did the Negro receive from the owner?
5. What were the principal occupations of the Negroes?
6. Describe the conditions that prevailed on the large plantations as to control, labour, morals, and physical provision.
7. What was the difference between the position and opportunities of the "field hands" and "house servants"?
8. Tell of the duties and responsibilities of the Southern mistress to her slaves.
9. Name some of the obstacles in the way of evangelizing the Negroes. What hindrance did witchcraft present?
10. Tell of the work of the churches and the results.
11. What different methods were used in the towns and on the plantations?
12. Tell of the effect of the early abolition movement in the North, and the excitement that followed it.
13. How was this difficulty overcome in the Methodist Church, and with what results?
14. What change took place in the moral and religious condition of the Negro during his bondage?

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III

THE FREEDMAN

BIBLE LESSON

When He saw the multitudes, He was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted, and were scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd.

Hear me speedily, O Lord: my spirit faileth; hide not Thy face from me lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit. Cause me to know the way wherein I should walk; for I lift my soul unto Thee. . . . Thou hast delivered my soul from death: wilt not Thou deliver my feet from falling that I may walk before God in the land of the living.

I love the Lord, because He hath heard the voice of my supplication.

There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man. . . . But take heed lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak.

III

THE FREEDMAN

WHILE the anti-slavery sentiment was growing in the North, the pro-slavery sentiment was growing in the South.

The abolitionist became fiercely uncompromising, and in his burning enthusiasm for the freedom of the Negro, represented the white slave owner as little better than an agent of the devil, and his professions of Christianity as almost blasphemous hypocrisy. An intelligent Christian gentleman stated recently that in home, school, and church he was taught that it was impossible to be both a *Christian* and a slave owner, and that he hated the whole South until he grew old enough to think and see for himself.

The activities of the abolitionists in arousing prejudice against the South in the nation and in the world were bitterly resented, and when they extended to efforts to incite the slaves to insurrection, the Southern man blazed with fury and heaped anathemas upon all "Yankees." An abolitionist meant to him a "canting fanatic" who would steal, burn, and even murder white people to carry out his mistaken ideas of good for the black man.

That which began in recriminations became open curses and violent demonstrations of hatred. Philanthropy entered upon the political arena, and sectional politicians fought out the battle in the national Capitol. Brilliant intellect, intrepid courage, intense conviction, bitter prejudice, all combined to make the conflict amazing. The giants of the nation on both sides of the line were engaged in it. On one side the slogan was "State Rights," on the other, "Federal Power." Great constitutional questions were thus involved and their establishment became the supreme effort of the statesmen of the country, as each conceived them. But underneath it all were the question and fate of the institution of slavery.

(It would be useless to recount here the different steps of this political contest. It would be a long story to tell "how the battle was lost and won." Nor is it needful to rewrite the "oft-told tale" of the Civil War which out of political antagonism burst like a fearful storm over our devoted land. Hand to hand, foot to foot, brother against brother, we fought our fight to a finish. The world has never known such a war. Brave hearts on each side recognized the true soldier on the other, and when the end came that scene on the field of Appomattox is typical of the feelings of those who fought for what they deemed the right. The intrepid, great-souled Lee, accepting defeat, rendered up his sword



ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE EMANCIPATOR

with calm dignity to the conqueror. With true magnanimity, Grant, the invincible warrior, returned that sword with courteous words of refusal to claim such evidence of his triumph. God help us! What untold suffering and shame would have been spared our country if that spirit had prevailed in the councils of the nation in the years that followed!

While it is an acknowledged fact that Negro slavery was the cause of the war, yet whatever of wrong was wrought, or agony suffered, the Negro was an *innocent* cause, and in the immediate results the greatest sufferer. After forty years we can look back and see how for his sake ignorance, hate, prejudice, and greed united in causing that great national tragedy, and later on the still bitterer suffering to the South of the reconstruction period. But, alas! we can never calculate the loss entailed upon the Negro by the way his freedom came to him. Nor have we yet relieved the race of the destructive, degenerating influence brought to bear upon him when, like a child beginning to walk, he looked for some one to lead him and was recklessly pushed into a ditch and left to extricate himself. When he needed bread he was given a stone which, when he had thrown it, rebounded against himself. When he needed a light to keep his feet from straying, he was taught to look at the sun until his eyes were dazzled and he lost his way.

It is hardly in place to introduce here a broad discussion of the matter, yet it would not be just to the Negro to remain silent in regard to some of the facts of this period of his history that redound to his praise, and others that plunged him into so many difficulties,—political, industrial, and social,—and retarded all missionary effort in his behalf.

Writers and speakers, both white and black, have recorded these things in worthy tributes to both races and it seems well to repeat some of them here as the best presentation of the subject to present day readers.

Thomas Nelson Page says :

It is to the eternal credit of the whites and of the Negroes that during the four years of war when the white men of the South were absent in the field they could entrust their homes, their wives, their children, all they possessed, to the care and guardianship of their slaves with absolute confidence in their fidelity. And this trust was never violated. . . . Of the thousands who went as servants with their masters to the war I never heard of one who deserted to the North, and many had abundant opportunity.¹ They raised the crops that fed the Confederate army, and suffered without complaint the privations which came alike to white and black.²

This is a tribute to both races inasmuch as it shows that *mutual* love and kindness helped to keep the bondsman true to his master.

Booker Washington says on this subject :

¹ Page, "The Negro: The Southerner's Problem," p. 188.

² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

The self-control which the Negro exhibited during the war marks, it seems to me, one of the most important chapters in the history of the race. Notwithstanding he knew his master was away from home fighting a battle which, if successful, would result in his continued enslavement, yet he worked faithfully for the support of the master's family. If the Negro had yielded to the temptation and suggestion to use the torch or dagger in an attempt to destroy his master's property or family, the result would have been that the war would have been quickly ended; for the master would have returned from the battle-field to protect and defend his property and family. But the Negro to the last was faithful to the trust that had been thrust upon him, and during the four years of war there is not a single instance recorded where he attempted in any way to outrage the family or to injure his master's property.¹

The same writer says of the reconstruction period :

At the close of the war both the white man and the Negro found themselves in the midst of poverty. The ex-master returned from the war to find his slave property gone, his farms and other industries in a state of collapse, and the whole industrial or economic system upon which he had depended for years entirely disorganized. . . . The weak point, to my mind, in the reconstruction era, was that no strong force was brought to bear in the direction of preparing the Negro to become an intelligent, reliable citizen and voter. The main effort seems to have been in the direction of controlling his vote for the time being, regardless of future interests. I hardly believe that any race of people with similar preparation and similar surroundings would have acted more wisely or very differently from the way the Negro acted during this period of reconstruction. Without experience, without preparation, and in most cases without ordinary intelligence, he was encouraged to leave

¹ Washington, "The Future of the American Negro," pp. 8-9.

the field and shop and enter politics. That under such circumstances he should have made mistakes is very natural. I do not believe that the Negro was so much at fault for entering so largely into politics and for the mistakes that were made in too many cases, as were the unscrupulous white leaders who got the Negro's confidence and controlled his vote to further their own ends, regardless of the permanent welfare of the Negro. . . . It was unfortunate that the Southern white man did not make more of an effort at this time to get the confidence and sympathy of the Negro, and thus keep him in close touch and sympathy in politics. It was also unfortunate that the Negro was so completely alienated from the Southern white man. I think it would have been better for all concerned if, immediately after the close of the war, an educational and property qualification for the exercise of the franchise had been prescribed that would have applied fairly and squarely to both races, and also if, in educating the Negro, greater stress had been put on training him along the lines of industry for which his services were in the greatest demand in the South. . . . I believe this period serves to point out many weak points in our effort to elevate the Negro, and that we are now taking advantage of the mistakes that were made. . . . What is needed is to apply these lessons bravely and honestly in laying the foundation upon which the Negro can stand in the future, and make himself a useful, honourable, and desirable citizen.¹

Of the reconstruction period Mr. Page says :

When the war closed the friendship between the races was never stronger ; the relations were never more closely welded. Each recognized and appreciated the good in the other.

The majority of the slaves heard of their freedom first from their own masters. . . . The joy with which the slaves hailed emancipation did not relax the bonds of affection between them and their former masters and owners. There was,

¹ Washington, "The Future of the American Negro," pp. 10-15.

of course, much disorganization and no little misunderstanding. The whites, defeated and broken, but unquelled and undismayed, were unspeakably sore; the Negroes, suddenly freed and facing an unknown condition, were naturally in a state of excitement. But the transition was accomplished without an outbreak or an outrage . . . or even few incidents of ill temper on either side. This was reserved for a later time when a new poison had been instilled into the Negro's mind and had begun to work. . . .

For years after the war many of the older Negroes, men and women, remained the faithful guardians of the white women and children of their dead masters' families. . . . The first pressing necessity in the South was to secure the means of living, for in sections where the armies had been the country was swept clean and in all sections the entire labour system was disorganized. . . . In most instances the old masters informed their servants that their homes were open to them, and if they were willing to remain and work, they would do all in their power to help them. But to remain in the first radiant holiday of freedom was, perhaps, more than could be expected of human nature, and most of the blacks went off for a while, though later a large number of them returned. In a little while the country was filled with an army of occupation. The Negro, moved by curiosity, the novelty, and mainly by the love of the rations which the government immediately began to distribute, not unnaturally flocked to the posts of the local garrison, leaving the fields unworked and the crops to go to destruction.¹

The unworked lands were declared "abandoned lands," and in some places they were given by government officials to the Negroes who retained possession of them. The idea became widespread that the government intended to divide

¹ Page, "The Negro: The Southerner's Problem," pp. 28, 29, 30, 188, 192.

the land of the whites among the Negroes and the belief became current that every Negro was to receive "forty acres and a mule."

The antagonism felt by the white people towards each other, North and South, manifested itself in their different opinions in regard to existing conditions in the South and how they should be met. In their warring efforts almost every possible mistake was made by North and South, white and black.

The Freedman's Bureau came into the South with almost unlimited authority, backed by the United States army and treasury. "It made laws, executed them, and interpreted them; it laid and collected taxes; defined and punished crime; maintained and used military force; and dictated such measures as it thought necessary and proper for the accomplishment of its varied ends."¹ Its chief purpose, in fact its only purpose, was to care for the freedman and advance his interests, and to that end all its legislative, judicial, and executive powers were used, usually without regard to the interests of the white population. Through its influence the Union League was formed among the Negroes—an organization whose bitter fruit still survives. The post-bellum politicians—"carpetbagger" and "scalawag"—gathered like vultures to a feast, and made the Negroes the instruments by which they enriched

¹ *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1901.

themselves. Their opportunity was the Fifteenth Amendment, their power the Federal army. The South was plundered to the extent that it lost more financially during the eight years of "reconstruction" than by the war.

The injury to the whites was not the only injury caused by the reconstruction system. To the Negroes, the objects of its bounty, it was no less a calamity. He was taught that the white man (Southern) was his enemy, when he should have been taught to cultivate his friendship. He was told he was the equal of the white man when he was not; that he was the ward of the nation when he should have been trained to self-reliance; that the government would sustain him, when he could not be sustained. In legislation he was taught thieving; in politics to slavishly follow his leaders; in private life he was taught insolence. . . . To these teachings may be traced most of the misfortunes of the Negro race, and indeed of the whole South since the war.¹

Before leaving this subject, this statement must be made: throughout the North there was a large element who favoured Lincoln's plan of reconstruction,² which, if his foul assassination had not prevented, he would have carried out, and thereby added a still greater lustre to his name in securing a complete restoration of the Union without destroying a part of it. Among those

¹ Page, "The Negro: The Southerner's Problem," pp. 47, 48.

² Lincoln's plan would have restored the seceded states to their former status in the Union under the Constitution. In the plan adopted by Congress those states were regarded as a conquered province, and military occupation was deemed necessary to quell any possible attempt at revolution."

who came South as officers in the "Army of Occupation"¹ there were some who—true soldiers—came in obedience to orders, but with no desire to injure the South in obeying those orders. They honestly and earnestly sought to do their duty by all, white and black. The difficulties and perplexities surrounding them were great, not the least being that their presence was resented by the whites, their sympathy was imposed upon by the blacks, and any attempt to deal justly between them excited suspicion of their loyalty. These sometimes received undeserved retaliation from the whites for the misdeeds of others which they had not endorsed.

It must also be said that while the wisest and best men of the South counselled conservative action, there were many whose losses and wrongs stung to reckless resistance. Attempts at coercive legislation and private efforts to retrieve the situation proved alike their impotence and their bitterness. Mistakes and errors seemed the order of the day on both sides, and the Negro was the shuttlecock between their battledores,—now tossed high in the air, now struck down to the ground. He was too ignorant to rule, yet he deserved a citizen's rights. The wonder is that he should have come out of this political strife as well as he did.

¹ A term applied to the Federal army stationed at that time in the South.

What has been said has related to the political rather than the social and religious aspects of the freedman's condition. Yet slow indeed would we be in noting cause and effect in the moral world if we failed to see how the facts stated affected the whole life of the Negro.

Let be said against slavery what may be said, it at least taught industrial habits and obedience to law, and prohibited many of the grosser vices. With its restraints taken away, every form of vice became rampant. Drunkenness, gambling, stealing, lying, and sensuality found opportunity and encouragement never known before. To the majority freedom meant license and idleness. Work of any kind was regarded as an expression of slavery. And "the devil finds plenty of work for idle hands to do."

The Negroes had either shared the church privileges of the white people, or had others provided for them by the whites. They suffered the same deprivation of those privileges that the white people did when the reckless hand of war destroyed the churches, or turned them into barracks or hospitals (as was done in hundreds of cases), or when the pastor or missionary became the chaplain or soldier. In some places where the Federal forces had not entered, the plantation missions were kept up during the war and the Negro preacher continued his exhortations and Christian mistresses their ministrations.

But gradually the whole land lay vanquished and desolate, and white and black suffered alike for a while in the loss of the ordinary religious ministry. The poverty of the white people made it scarcely possible at this time to support churches for themselves, and all missionary work was necessarily suspended, and this was at the very time when the Negro's temptation was greatest to break away from all religious restraints and indulge in sinful excesses.

The older Christians among the Negroes saw and deplored the fact that while they held fast to their Christian profession the younger and less established in the ways of righteousness were being swept away in the current of sin. As one old mother expressed it, "My chilluns is a-breakin' my heart while dey's doin' dey best to kill dey own souls. Dey won't listen to me, nor to Brer' Sam'ul, and when I ax ole miss ter talk ter um lak what she uster, dey won't listen ter her nuther, and ole marster he can't do nothing nuther. Me an' ole miss we des prays fur um, kaze dat's all we kin do."

To these faithful ones, white and black, who sought in every way to stay the mad rush of the weaker element into destruction, belongs the praise of preserving that which was best to the race through this time of trial and temptation. "To them shall be given a crown of life." In line with the work formerly done among their

own slaves, Sunday-schools were opened in many places by devout men and women, evangelistic services were held when possible, and efforts were made to induce the Negroes to attend. But as the days went by and distrust and insolence grew among the younger Negroes, these efforts were unavailing. Strange to say, sometimes they were objected to by some Southern white people, who, also, had come in turn to feel bitter resentment and distrust.

It is hard for any one who did not see and grieve over it to understand the condition of the poor black people during the first period following the war. Those who did, though suffering with and from them, can scarce restrain their tears to-day when the memory of it rises before them. They have by virtue of these memories a better understanding of some of the things of to-day than have those, North and South, who did not *see* this part of the Negro's history,—and know what was in his past.

Cared for in every respect as slaves, guided in their work, provided with all the necessities of life, nursed in sickness, protected from labour and hardships in childhood and age,—how could the Negroes, in a moment, as it were, know as freedmen how to do all these things for themselves? The land was filled with wandering vagrants, who either would not work, or who followed those who refused to do so. Family ties

were sundered by them, either from indifference or necessity, far wider and more frequently than during the days of slavery. They had no home and often their only shelter was a crude shed, while frequently they lay in the open field, weary pilgrims seeking they knew not what. Clothing grew so ragged as scarce to cover the nakedness of their emaciated bodies; disease unattended to, with no money for physician or medicine, carried off thousands, especially children and delicate women reared as house servants. Deluded with impossible promises, they hoped for wealth as a part of freedom. Their disappointment was practically expressed by one who said, "I thought when I got free I'd hev a big white house an' do lak mistus did. I'd hev a fine silk dress a-trailin' on de carpet, all trimmed up wid lace, an' er merhog'ny table, a-shinin' wid silver. But freedom ain't meant nuffin ter me but sickness, an' hunger an' sorrer, an' instid of workin' my main bizness has been a-burrin' of my dead." Alas, all have their castles in the air that crumble in the hand of reality!

The outcome of their baseless hopes at the time was temporary pauperism for the mass, but there were many who did not "lose their heads." These went steadily on working for wages, or "on shares," and by their industry, honesty, and thrift, secured a competency and retained the respect of the white people. Their number con-

stantly increased as the first wild excitement wore off and necessity drove back to work some who had been vagrants.

It did not help either of these classes to see the worst men of their race becoming the great men, set up in the high places and clothed with political and judicial power, "spreading like a green bay tree." It was an unsafe object-lesson to some teaching that "*Dishonesty* is its own reward." Of these poor tools of the "carpetbag" politician it might have been said, "Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad."

The war-desolated South is thus described by Carl Schurz :

My travels in the South in the summer and fall of 1865 took me over the track of Sherman's march. . . . It looked for many miles a broad, black streak of ruin and desolation,—fences gone, lonesome smoke-stacks surrounded by dark heaps of ashes and cinders, marking the spot where human habitations had stood, the fields along the road wildly overgrown by weeds, with here and there a sickly-looking patch of cotton or corn, cultivated by Negro squatters. Even those regions which had been touched but little or not at all by military operations were labouring under dire distress. . . . Confederate money had become worthless. Only a few individuals of more or less wealth had been fortunate enough to save, and keep throughout the war, small hordes of gold and silver. . . . The people may be said to have been without a "circulating medium" to serve in the ordinary transactions of business. . . . United States money could not be had for nothing; it could only be obtained by selling something for it in the shape of goods or of labour. . . . They had, of course, very little to

sell, . . . and needed all their labouring capacity to provide for the wants of the next day. . . . The whole agricultural labour system was turned upside down. Many of the Negroes, especially in the neighbourhood of towns or of Federal encampments, very naturally yielded to the temptation of testing and enjoying their freedom by walking away from the plantations to frolic. . . . In various parts of the South the highways and byways were alive with "foot-loose" coloured people. . . . They stayed away from the plantations just when their labour was most needed to secure the crops of the season, and those crops were more than ordinarily needed to save the population from continued want and misery. Violent efforts were made by white men to drive the straggling Negroes back to the plantations by force, and reports of bloody outrages inflicted upon coloured people came from many quarters. . . . The total overturning of the whole labour system of a country accomplished suddenly without preparation or general transition, is a tremendous revolution, a terrible wrench, well apt to confuse men's minds. . . . It was indeed an appalling situation, looking in many respects almost hopeless.¹

From this description it is a patent fact that the Southern people were powerless to aid in a financial way the poverty-stricken black population. Other circumstances as completely hindered them from aiding them in other ways.

Into this rupture of the whole life of the land, involving the poverty and suffering of both races, came the first missionaries from the North to "seek and to save" the Negro. Theirs was a delicate task, and the way to its accomplishment was one that an angel might well hesitate to

¹ Schurz, "First Days of Reconstruction," *McClure's Magazine*, May, 1908.

tread. Some of them were *wise* as well as godly, and were a blessing to the Negroes in their Christlike work, and good results attended their labours. To these men and women all praise be given. "Many shall rise up in that day and call them blessed." The pity is that these wise, understanding ones were not the type for all, and the pity is still greater that the prejudice aroused by the unwise should have extended to them also, and that even yet many of the Southern people do not discriminate between the two classes. That justice may be done to both sides, some explanations are needed of this painful state of feeling and its unfortunate results.

Many of these teachers had been bitterly prejudiced against the ex-slave owners by inflammatory literature and addresses of agitators, and by the pitiful exaggerations of fugitive slaves, and verily they would have thought they did God's service if they might have punished the "oppressors" still more severely. They had no appreciative knowledge of the race traits or the characteristics of the Negro. They did not realize his primitive condition nor the long, hard process of evangelizing and civilizing him, therefore they could not know how much had been accomplished for him by the Southern white people. They thought of the Negro as a Caucasian with a black skin who had been robbed of his possessed rights and brutally treated, and all his ig-

norance and sin and misery were laid at the door of the white man. Taking no account of the recent terrible cataclysm through which both races had passed, they failed to recognize existing conditions as in part, at least, resulting from it.

Sad to say, they transmitted these ideas to their pupils, young and old, in the school and in the cabin, and the tares of distrust and resentment (not purposely, it is hoped) were sown along with the good seed of the Gospel and the primer. These tares bore dangerous fruit in the lives and manners of the impressionable Negroes; and the white people learned from them in various unpleasant ways (possibly much exaggerated) what the missionary and teacher were saying, and they took bitter offense at such instruction. Especially was this resentment felt by the Southern *women*. Their land was battle-scarred, its desolate fields were filled with the unsodded graves of their dead, they had endured untold hardships during the war, and now poverty and its unaccustomed labour pressed upon many of them. They were boiling with indignation under the double rule of the army and the Negro; they were fearfully conscious of the danger that lurked at every window and door,—and now it was intolerable to have those with whom they had once lived in affectionate intercourse, and upon whom as the only servant class they were still dependent, so turned against them that their

présence in the home was offensive even when it could be secured.¹

Was it a wonder under the circumstances that the strangers were regarded as "political emissaries" (in a certain sense regarded as the anarchist is to-day) rather than as Christian missionaries? Was it wonderful that the far-famed "Southern hospitality" was not extended and the Northern teachers felt themselves, as they were, socially ostracized?

These first missionaries saw the worst of the worst state of the Negro, and the good was overshadowed by it so that there seemed no good at all, or else the good was deified. Their ignorance was felt by the South to be almost unpardonable, for it caused them to misunderstand and therefore to misrepresent causes and conditions. The truth was exaggerated, when it was bad enough, by their writing of the worst and picturing that as typical of all, and by the narration of distressing incidents as the ordinary experience. These fearful reports sent back to the North aroused there a perfect fever of sympathy for the Negro, and in many cases a greater dislike for the Southern white man. Enthusiasm

¹ In some instances they saw their ancestral homes and lucrative plantations confiscated and used for Negro schools, or sold for their maintenance. (See report of Gen. Howard for 1869, also, Atlanta University Publications, No. 6, pp. 22, 29.) This did not tend to good feeling.

ran high and all kinds of effort were put forth in his behalf. Zeal quickened into action, and without waiting for the preparation of knowledge, large numbers of enthusiastic men and women were "thrust forth into the harvest." Money from the plethoric purses of the North was poured into the poverty-stricken South for the education of the Negro. Under such conditions it was impossible that mistakes should not have been made, serious mistakes, as to the character of educative work to be done and the methods best suited to the Negro race and to its present needs and future development.¹ Thanks be to God, there was also much good wrought, and by His overruling providence He has made even some of these mistakes to work to His glory by providing valuable lessons by which better service may be rendered in the future. Not the least of these lessons is the larger knowledge of the character of the race, its needs and possibilities. This has brought disappointment to some and encouragement to others. "The Negro has been found to be neither an angel nor a devil, simply a man." The halo of the saint and martyr has been lifted from his head. Underneath his foibles and weakness the kindly heart

¹ This is not written with any desire to emphasize missionary mistakes. These have occurred in the beginning of all missionary enterprises and have served as "stepping-stones" to better things.

has been found. When intellect has seemed to be lacking, deep spiritual perception has been discovered, and when the classics "didn't fit," the hand has been made skillful. How to "live the common life of daily task" nobly and honestly has been found to be a lesson often needed and gained when circumstances forbade the halls of learning.

It was hard that while his white friends were learning how to help him, the Negro should suffer from their mistakes, but slowly, ploddingly, he is by that help and the pressure of his own needs emerging from the chaotic condition of the freedman into responsible citizenship. The greatest force in his uplift has and will come from the trained intelligence of the Christian men and women of his own race. Comparatively few, it may be, have shared in this task as yet, but that few are proving a leaven that "will leaven the whole lump."

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What opposing views were held in the North and South in regard to slavery and how did they result in the Civil War?
2. How did the Negroes and their owners comport themselves towards each other during the war and immediately after?
3. What was the financial and industrial condition of the South at the close of the war?
4. What was the physical and moral condition of the Negroes during the first year of freedom?

5. What was the policy of reconstruction adopted by Congress, and what effect did it have on both races?
6. What was the power and work of the Freedman's Bureau?
7. What was the political and financial result of Negro and "carpetbag" rule?
8. What difficulties and mistakes attended the first missionary efforts for the freedman?
9. What were the results, good and bad?

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IV

THE CITIZEN

BIBLE LESSON

Trust in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths.

When wisdom entereth into thine heart, and knowledge is pleasant unto thy soul; discretion shall preserve thee, understanding shall keep thee.

A man travelling in a far country, called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods . . . to every man according to his several ability . . . and said, "Occupy until I come."

God hath set the members, every one of them in the body as it hath pleased Him.

Study to be quiet and to do your own business and work with your own hands . . . that ye may walk honestly towards them that are without, and that ye may have lack of nothing. If any will not work neither let him eat.

The Lord shall increase you more and more, you and your children.

IV

THE CITIZEN

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO RACE

THE twelfth census of the United States (1900) places the total number of Negroes at 8,833,994, distributed as follows :

<i>Division</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Per cent. of total population</i>
North Atlantic,	385,020	4.4
South Atlantic,	3,729,017	42.2
North Central,	495,751	5.6
South Central,	4,193,952	47.5
Western,	30,254	0.3

This table shows that nine-tenths of the entire Negro population resides in the fourteen Southern states, and that only one-tenth is scattered over the whole of the remainder of the United States, and that more than half of that tenth are in the states of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Illinois—and these are largely segregated in the four large cities of those states. In thirty of the states out of every one hundred people, only three are Negroes ; while in two Southern states there are more than fifty-eight Negroes to forty-

two whites, and in none of them except Kentucky does the proportion fall below nineteen in every hundred.

In 1880 there were 6,580,793 Negroes in this country. In twenty years there was an increase of 34.2 per cent. The race has not merely maintained its numbers but shown a marvellous increase. Since the census of 1900 was published nearly another decade has passed, and supposing the rate of increase in the Negro population to be the same as in past decades, the number is now estimated to be not less than ten millions.

The Negroes, constituting about one-ninth of the total population, make up only about one-fifteenth of the urban population and more than one-seventh of the rural population. They are relatively less numerous in the large cities than in the towns.

A glance at the figures showing the distribution of the Negro race in the United States demonstrates that whatever problem his presence presents it is primarily "the Southerners' Problem," which must be worked out in the South. Those figures also demonstrate the fact that after forty years of free access to other parts of the country and with no restraints upon his movements the Negro has chosen, as a race, to remain in the South. That he has so chosen is proof that the social and economic conditions in the

South are such as make it desirable for him to remain there rather than to go elsewhere.

The broad and living decisions of great masses of men possess a dumb but interesting significance. They are never wholly irrational or sentimental. The Negro remains at the South because among the primary and secondary rewards of honest life, he gets more of the primary rewards at the South than at the North. . . . The Negro knows that in the essential struggle for existence the spirit of the South has been the spirit of kindness and helpfulness. Nor is it true that the Negro may there perform only the deeds of drudgery, or those petty offices that are the badges of a menial dependence. The Negro at the South is preacher, teacher, physician, and lawyer; he is in the dry-goods business, the grocery, the livery, the real estate, and the wood and coal business; as well as in the business of running errands and blacking boots.¹

It is in the South that the black man finds an open sesame in labour, industry, and business that is not surpassed anywhere. It is here that that form of slavery which prevents a man from selling his labour to whom he pleases on account of his colour is almost unknown. We have had slavery in the South, now dead, that forced an individual to labour without a salary, but none that compelled a man to live in idleness while his family starved.²

PROGRESS: INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC

When we consider the great host of Negroes who live in our land and which will surely become greater, and how they affect now and will affect still more in the future, the life and civilization of our country, it becomes a matter of vital

¹ Murphy, "The Present South," p. 184.

² Washington.

interest to the whole nation and especially to the South, to know, besides its growth in numbers, what has been the progress of this race in other matters.

In studying this progress consideration must be given to certain similar conditions that exist in every country and among other races. The struggle between capital and labour with its contrast between the rich and the poor; the usual features of poverty, ignorance, disease, and sin; the inefficient labourer and the unemployed,—are problematic conditions, and their manifestations are to be found in the North without reference to race. In the South the Negroes for the most part do the common, rough labour and, although the demand for skilled labour is growing ever greater, the vast majority of them are unskilled labourers. These, as everywhere, receive low wages, and they form a large number of the unemployed that will not or cannot work. Such conditions tend to poverty of the labouring class everywhere.

Booker Washington, when asked if the white man in the South wanted the Negro to improve his present condition, answered promptly, "Yes." After citing instances manifesting their interest in the Negro's education and progress, he says, "Such marks of the interest in the education of the Negro on the part of the Southern white people can be seen almost every day. Why

should the white people, by their presence, words, and many other things, encourage the black man to get education, if they do not desire him to improve his condition?"¹

The census of 1900 gives the whole number of Negroes over ten years of age as 7,472,544. Of this number more than one-half were engaged in gainful occupations and more than half of these were employed in agriculture of some kind or grade.

Nearly one-fifth of these were farmers, planters, and overseers who had risen from a low level to a higher in their occupation and in American civilization. I might show how the Negro agricultural labourer of exceptional ability has become share tenant, then cash tenant, then part owner and finally full owner with marvellous rapidity and against fearful odds. . . . In the South Central states since emancipation Negro farmers have come to operate as owners and managers 95,624 farms and as tenants 348,805 farms. . . . In the South Atlantic states, of the 287,933 Negroes who have acquired control of farming lands 85,355 are owners or managers. The total value of Negro farm property is conservatively estimated at \$230,000,000. These facts spell progress unmistakably.²

The United States census for 1900 gives the total number of acres owned or partly owned by Negroes as 15,976,098.

Next to agriculture the occupations which give employment to the largest number of Negroes

¹ Washington, "Future of the American Negro."

² Strong, "Social Progress for 1906," p. 174.

may be classed under the general head of "domestic service" of different grades which, combined, include 708,470 persons.

In the "mechanical trades" there are nearly sixty thousand workmen of different degrees of skill. There were many Negro mechanics before the Civil War who were well trained for the kind of work required at that time. Later, new industrial conditions made demands that the Negro was not able to meet, and at a time when he had less opportunity for acquiring skill. And yet he has had a far greater success in earning a living than the conditions might have led one to expect.

About 85,000 Negroes are employed as "miners and quarrymen," and in "saw and planing mills" and "tobacco and cigar factories." In textile and other mills where machinery demands regular attendance and regulates the movements they are not considered desirable employees, the reasons stated being that "they do not feel any obligation to work if inclination leads them to take a holiday, and they are rarely capable of sustained attention and regularity of motion."

The census of 1900 reports nearly 20,000 Negroes employed as "nurses and midwives," the number having increased more than threefold during the decade. The position of nurse offers a large sphere of usefulness to properly trained

Negro women as "secondary or convalescent" nurses.

The number of dressmakers and seamstresses is stated as nearly 25,000. Twice that number could find employment at good wages if the character of their work were better.

ECONOMIC COÖPERATION

The Negroes have manifested in various ways their desire and ability for economic coöperation. Many failures have attended their efforts, but their many successes have brought not only present advantage but a prophecy of greater benefits for the future.

This coöperation had its beginning in the form of benevolent societies in the Church. These have been organized by the hundreds, and while the majority were largely local and short-lived, yet many have served a good purpose. Then came the industrial insurance societies covering a much broader range. Many of them are now quite extensive in their operations. Their combined real estate is valued at probably \$1,500,000, and their total income not far from \$3,000,000. The secret societies are very popular and prosperous. Having a large following, they had collectively an income last year of \$1,500,000 and own about \$5,000,000 worth of property. The spirit of coöperative benevolence finds its expression in nearly a hundred "Homes" and "or-

phanages," forty hospitals, and over five hundred cemeteries. There are now in the United States forty-one Negro banks, many of them doing a flourishing business.

The history of coöperative business among the Negroes is long and interesting. Of some it is simply a record of failure, but failure is often educative, as in this case; already the education through failure is beginning to tell. There have been hundreds of coöperative business ventures of various kinds that have failed: hundreds continue in operation with a measure of success.

Real estate and credit societies have resulted in Negro settlements in towns populated exclusively by that race, some of which have had fine success. Among these is Mound Bayou, Miss., which was incorporated in 1890. The town embraces about seventy-five acres of land, is well laid out, with plank walks, and has a population of 400, many living in neat homes. It is surrounded by a neighbouring population of about 3,000 who occupy their own farms, ranging from 200 to 600 acres each, and comprising altogether 30,000 acres, producing a variety of crops—but chiefly cotton. There are over forty business establishments, and the total volume of business amounts to almost three-quarters of a million dollars. There are eleven creditable public buildings, including two graded schools.

"The Farmers' Improvement Society" of

Texas has been of great benefit to many of the Negroes of that state. The members are pledged (1) to fight the credit or mortgage system, (2) to improve the method of farming and care of stock, (3) to coöperate in buying and selling, (4) to care for the sick and bury the dead, (5) to buy and improve homes. This society was organized by R. L. Smith in 1890. The effect of the movement has been fine and it has extended to many other communities in Texas.

With such an array of facts, who can doubt the progress of the Negro in industrial life and pursuits?

POLITICAL

The process used in converting the recently emancipated freedman into a citizen reversed all natural order and logical sequence. It was like demanding foliage, flower, and fruit of a newly-planted root, expecting results before causes were set in motion to produce them.

Not only is the unit of our civilization the home, but its character is based upon it. Our form of government to be successful requires—though, alas, it does not always find it—intelligence in the people from which it emanates, statesmanship in its legislatures, integrity in its executive officers, and purity in the judiciary. Ere the Negro could make a home and learn to fulfill the duties of a free husband and father,

before he had time to gain the rudiments of an education, while he was yet ignorant of the Constitution (except the thirteenth amendment) and the existing laws of the nation and the state, he had forced upon him, not only the right to vote, but high official position in municipal and state governments, where he must make laws and administer them, where he must preside over courts and render judicial decisions. And this power was to be exercised not over his own race alone, but over a race accustomed to self-government and to governing their new rulers.

For eight years several of the Southern states were partly, and three of them wholly, given up to Negro control. The Negro was invested with absolute power and turned loose, with the strength of the Federal army back of him. "What was the result? Such riot of folly and extravagance, such a travesty of justice, such mummery of government as was never before witnessed, except in Hayti under Negro rule." Governor Chamberlain, of South Carolina, Republican and "carpet-bagger" as he was, declared, "The civilization of the Puritan and Cavalier, of the Roundhead and the Huguenot is in peril."

That the Negro, so handicapped by his own ignorance and these demoralizing influences, would prove an undesirable, even dangerous, ruling element, was a foregone conclusion; and time as it passed has served to emphasize the

mistake of those who added the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution so soon after emancipation. The general opinion of dispassionate men, even of many of those who had a part in it, has come to regard this action as a grievous mistake, and this is also the view of the most intelligent leaders of the Negro race. The franchise might well have waited, for the freedman's sake, until he had acquired the knowledge to use it creditably to himself. The ballot-box should have given first place to the home and school.

The "carpetbag" politicians soon disappeared when the Federal soldiers were withdrawn from the South, and Negro rule crumbled. But, alas, the Negro had to stay and bear the burden of the mistakes of all of these, and to become the subjective and objective victim of the race hatred that had been engendered. It did not take long for the white race to regain the supremacy to which they claimed the right, and to reorganize the whole system of state government.

That drastic, illegal measures were used in many instances to secure this is an undisputed fact. For this, explanation was given in the oft-repeated, terse proverbs, "Necessity knows no law," and "Self-preservation is the first law of life." The general feeling was expressed in the statement, "This is war, not politics," and after history shows that the people recognized the true situation, however deplorable.

Later, many of the states held conventions that adopted new Constitutions which by their educational and property qualifications virtually disfranchised the great mass of Negro voters on account of their illiteracy. The same laws disfranchised many whites, also, who did not belong to the exempt class. If this has proved to them an incentive to education, it has given them an advantage over the illiterate whites of the "exempt class" who are left without such an incentive.

THE HOME LIFE

"The white or black man, by the sweat of whose brow a home has been bought, is by virtue of that act an infinitely better citizen." The increased sense of self-respect that comes with such an ownership leads to a deeper sense of obligation for the protection and maintenance of the home and the character of family life. It also brings an increased sense of responsibility for the public good and of personal advantage in the preservation of law. All this is becoming more and more apparent among the better class of Negroes who are, to a large extent, the homeowners.

We have noted the large number of farms that are owned by the Negroes. Besides these rural homes there are a still larger number in the towns and cities. The whole number of homes owned by Negroes is 372,414, and more than two-thirds

of them are free of encumbrance. Yet, comparing the number of homes of all kinds with the whole Negro population, it will be seen that the "home-owner" is still a small class and that the great mass of the race is as yet homeless, or housed in rented tenements on the farm or in the city.

Booker Washington says :

An increasing number of Negro homes has gone along with an increasing sense of the importance of the safeguard which the home throws about the family and of the household virtues which it encourages and makes possible. . . . In every Southern city there is a Negro quarter. It is often a cluster of wretched hovels, situated in the most dismal and unhealthy part of the city. They all have the same dingy, dirty, God-forsaken appearance. These are the places that are usually pointed out as the Negro homes. But in recent years there have grown up, usually in the neighbourhood of a school, small Negro settlements of an entirely different character. Most of them are modest cottages, but they are clean . . . and have a wholesome air of comfort and thrift. . . . Within you will find an air of decency and self-respect, pictures and books. . . . These are the homes of the thrifty labouring class who generally have some education. Some of them have gone through a college or industrial school, and their children are at school. . . . In the same community you will find other homes, larger and more comfortable, many of them handsome modern buildings with all the evidences of taste and culture that you might expect to find in any other home of the same size and appearance. If you should inquire here, you would learn that the people living in these homes are successful merchants, doctors, teachers . . . they are not usually recognized as Negro homes. Still handsomer houses here and there are to be found.¹

¹ Washington, *Century Magazine*, May, 1908.

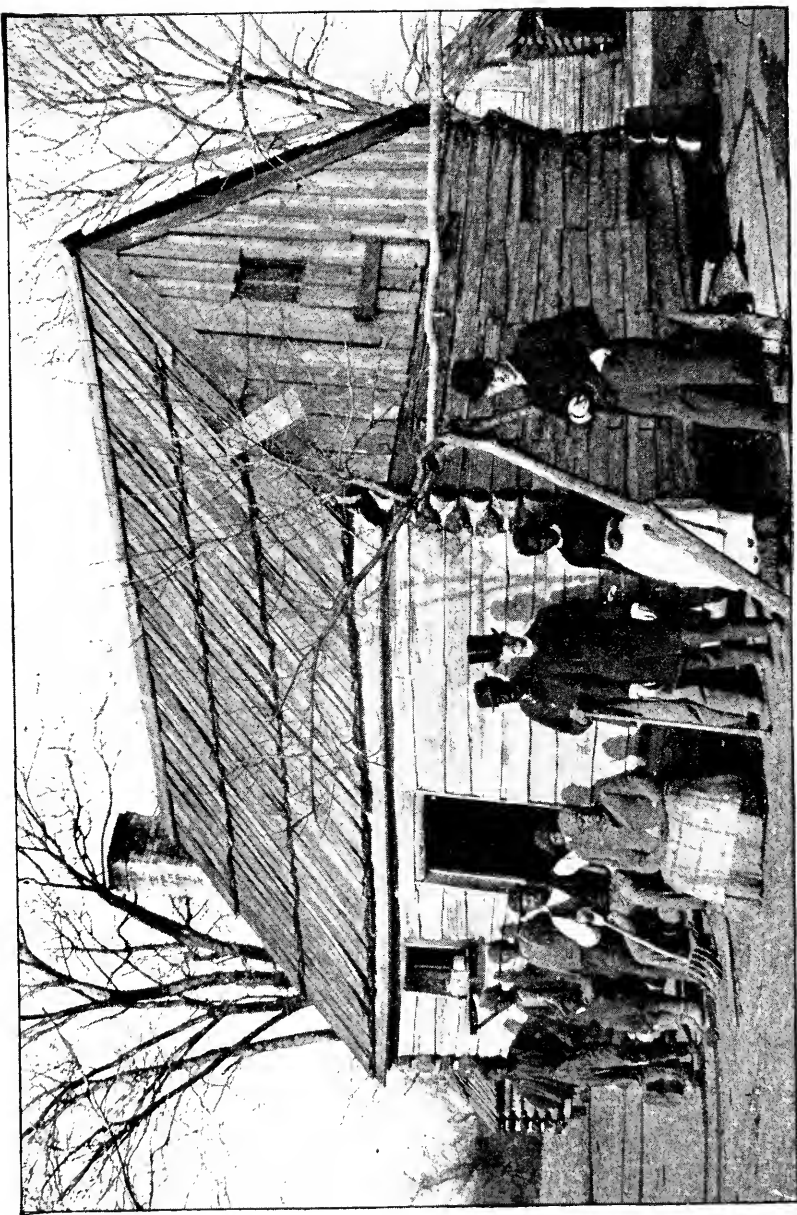
Harry Stillwell Edwards, a Georgian, gives a like testimony to the home life of the Negroes as noted in Atlanta, Georgia. He says :

Thirty years ago, when I was a boy in Georgia's central city, one part of the suburbs given over to Negroes contained an aggregation of unfurnished, ill-kept, rented cabins, the occupants untidy and for the most part shiftless. Such a thing as virtue among the female members was in but few instances conceded. Girls from this section roamed the streets at night, and vice was met with on every corner. Recently, in company with a friend who was interested in a family residing in the same community, I visited it. I found many families occupying their own homes, flowers growing in the yard and on the porches, curtains at the windows, and an air of homelike serenity overflowing the entire district. In the house, we entered the floors were carpeted, the white walls were hung with pictures, the mantel held bric-à-brac. . . . In conversation with the people of the house and neighbourhood we heard good ideas expressed in excellent language and discovered that every one with whom we came in contact could read and write, while many were much further advanced. . . . Though closely connected with the press for twenty-five years, I have never known a home-owning Negro to commit the nameless crime.¹

Dr. Murphy, in writing of Negro home life, says :

His heritage has given him but small equipment for the achievements of his task. And yet the Negro home exists. That its existence is, in many cases, but a naive pretense, that Negro life often proceeds upon its way with a disregard—partly immoral, partly non-moral—of our accepted marital conditions, is evident enough. And yet those who would observe

¹ Edwards, "The Negro and the South," *Century Magazine*, June, 1906.



A TYPICAL CABIN

broadly and closely will find a patiently and persistently increasing number of true families and real homes, a number far in excess of the popular estimate, homes in which with intelligence, probity, industry, and an admirable simplicity, the man and the woman are creating our fundamental institution. Scores of such homes, in some cases hundreds, exist in numbers of our American communities—exist for those who will try to find them.¹

There are, however, very many so-called homes where the worst conditions prevail and the surroundings and the training lead to the worst results in the lives of parents and children. In many instances this state comes from ignorance or viciousness, in others from that poverty that takes both parents away from home to work and leaves the children to “run wild” in the worst section of the city, and to learn all the evil of the streets.

Much as has been achieved by the race in owning and making homes, the great lack is still in the home life. The end to which their chief energies should be directed, through church, school, societies, and clubs should be the bettering of home life. The home is the heart of Christian civilization. From it flows the life blood of a nation or a race. The centre of the home is the woman, and its existence for good or bad depends largely upon her as wife and mother. Therefore the right education and training of the Negro woman is of the greatest

¹ Murphy, “Problems of the Present South,” p. 166.

importance for the future of the race. If she be imbued with a sense of the sanctities of life she will keep herself and her home pure and clean. If she be taught the dignity of labour and trained to do her duty in the practical things pertaining to a real home she will make it more desirable to her family than an evil outside life. If she be taught to appreciate aright the sacredness of motherhood and the proper care of her children she will send forth noble sons and daughters.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Negro is eminently social in his nature. As a race he likes to congregate and to communicate what he learns. He naturally loves a crowd, whatever may be the occasion for bringing it together,—an excursion or a funeral, a church service or a circus, a wedding or a death-bed. His pliable emotions fit themselves to any occasion with wonderful facility, and reach a state of excitement with alacrity and enjoyment.

This social nature leads them to segregate in town or city where there is quick access to each other and opportunity to talk—either to gossip or quarrel. It makes it far easier to secure Negro labour in employments where a large number work together. It often hinders regular employment and steady gains. The irresistible attractions of an excursion or a circus will draw

the labourer from his work and he, taking his whole family, will spend on it all he has saved.

With education and the growing refinement and restraint resulting from it, there is to be seen in the "better class" a gradual elimination of the emotional excitement attendant upon the old social customs. Indeed, in some instances, there may be too great a tendency to imitate the formal etiquette and half-hearted manner which the Anglo-Saxon has of enjoying himself, which results in a dismal, stilted failure of any kind of enjoyment.

Social distinctions have led to the forming of a class spirit as well defined in the Negro race as in the white. There are the "upper class" and the "lower classes." Strange to say, this brings about a peculiar state of affairs. The lower class resents the effort of their own upper class to *make* a social inequality within the race, although they accept their inequality with the better class white people for whom they work. The first-class white people, as a general thing, know better, and prefer the servant class to the "society set" of Negroes. On the other hand the latter class are brought into closer association with the poor labouring class of the white race residing nearer to them, who, while clinging tenaciously to white supremacy in sentiment, admit them in a certain way into social relations.

The "society" of coloured people have their

handsome or pretty houses opened for the same kind of entertainment that white people have, and they extend their hospitality as generously to their own "set"; and, in proportion to their means, these entertainments are made as attractive by the fine dress of the women, the floral decorations, the well-served menus and the character of the music. Their "parties," their weddings, their funerals, are made as nearly as possible like those of the white people and in some instances they could not be distinguished from them except by the colour of the participants,—and sometimes that is not very marked.

There is a point in the social life of the Negro that is difficult and delicate to handle. The Negroes recognize, and so do the Southern white people, a condition which forms an *inner* problem to the much discussed "Race problem," and that is the class distinction based on colour that is drawing apart the mixed blood from the full-blood Negro. There are no defined rules governing this classification because of its varying degrees, and there are many deviations from the line even when there is a marked difference to one side or the other. Yet that line is growing more and more evident in both social and religious life.

As a general thing those that continue their education beyond the common school are of mixed blood—(mulattoes, quadroons, and octo-

rooms). This can be verified by a visit to any one or more higher institutions of learning for Negroes. This grows in a measure out of the eliminating process wherein the mentally fit survive, but there are many other contributory causes that cannot be discussed here. These educated people of mixed blood are frequently the most successful in business, and form by far the largest element of the select social circles—an “upper-tendom” that more or less wishes to avoid association with the full-blood Negro. While the individual cannot be blamed, this social drawing away of a “higher class” from the “masses,” if *colour* be the cause, is resulting in several ways to the detriment of the race.

It must not be understood from what has been written that the mixed bloods are all superior to the full-blood Negroes. Not so. Some of the worst, most stupid, most dangerous elements of the race are to be found among them. While the superior individuals preponderate in the higher schools and the higher society, these represent but a small proportion of the whole race, or even of the mixed bloods themselves, of whom it is estimated there are three millions in the United States. The general results of amalgamation have proved an evil for both races, and therefore both should do all in their power to preserve race integrity.

There is a still *higher* class, though a much

smaller one, than the "society set"—formed of true leaders who are doing their part nobly towards lifting up others. Among these may be found principals of colleges, and teachers, physicians, lawyers, ministers, graduates of colleges, North and South. The women of this class, possessing refinement and culture, are spending their time, strength, and money for the helping of other women of the race less fortunate than themselves. They feel they must keep in touch with the women whose advantages and opportunities have not been as great as theirs if they would save the race. May we not hope that as the influence of this class extends it will counteract the evil arising from prejudice and resentment caused by other conditions, and will prove to be the bond that will draw together in love and helpfulness the jarring elements in their own race? May the men and women of this class be ready to coöperate with men and women of like minds in the white race who seek a righteous solution of the race problem!

No discussion of the social life of the Negro would be complete without some consideration of the National Association of Coloured Women and the work that is being done by the various affiliated clubs that include in their membership at least 10,000 women. While the object of these clubs, to a certain extent, is self-culture, it is to a much larger degree philanthropic and

charitable. They are formed of the leading women of the race, and represent the best class intellectually as well as socially. They are the women who most fully realize the condition of the mass of their people and who, feeling a keen responsibility for its betterment, are seeking through the educational and institutional features of their clubs to establish higher standards of life in the home and family relation.

This association was incorporated in 1904 and is therefore still in its incipency. Some of its work is crude, but its influence has already been for good in those communities where conditions are favourable, and there is every reason to believe that a larger sphere and better results lie before it in the future. The organization grows out of the "felt need of united and systematic effort," and the leaders hope "to furnish evidence of moral, mental, and material progress made by our people." Its object is to secure "harmony of action and coöperation among all women in raising to the highest plane home, moral and civil life."

More numerous than the woman's clubs are the "Mutual Benefit Societies," with many varying names and objects. These properly conducted are a great blessing, especially among the poor, day-labouring class, who are often without friends who can be of the least assistance in the times of distress and sickness. They have also

their social features and through them furnish respectable entertainment and amusement to supplant much that would degrade. Besides these there are many church societies that have social features and are in many ways beneficial both to the women composing them and to those who receive help from them.

CRIME AND ITS PUNISHMENT

The Negroes, while forming about one-eighth of the whole population of the United States in 1890, were responsible for nearly one-fifth of the crime. According to the twelfth census there were in the United States 57,310 prisoners; of these, 25,019 were Negroes—a number three times as great in proportion to population as that of the native whites, and once and a half times as great as that of the foreign-born whites. The figures also show that in proportion to the Negro population there are more criminal Negroes in the North than in the South, eight-tenths of them being in the South where nine-tenths of the Negroes dwell. This may be explained by the fact that those in the North live almost entirely in the cities while in the South the vast majority are in the rural districts. In both races the criminality of the city far exceeds that of the country.

Of the Negro prisoners in the state penitentiaries, city or county jails, and workhouses or

houses of correction, the men largely predominate. Half of them are between the ages of twenty and thirty and a fifth between the ages of ten and nineteen. The figures show a lower criminal age than among the whites and the crime of most of these youthful offenders is stealing. If commitments were tabulated, undoubtedly pilfering would be found to be preëminently the Negro crime. One-fourth of the Negro prisoners are confined for crimes against the person. These consist of fighting and quarrelling, which end at times in homicide, and also the crime of rape. One-sixth of the prisoners in jail are charged with crimes against society, such as gambling, drunkenness, adultery.

No one can go into a Southern city or town and fail to notice in certain sections the large number of idle, ragged, dirty Negroes, and every village and wayside railway station has its quota. These are in a large measure vagrants—though an occasional “job” may save them from the vagrant law—and their only steady occupation is the game of “crap shooting.” It does not take a very strong temptation to make one of this shiftless class a criminal. To feed such as these many an honest wife or mother wears her life out at the wash-tub, and to protect them from punishment would perjure her soul, or lay down her life. Yet without doubt many of them are what they are because of the evil influence and the

lack of moral training in miserable homes, where the immoral lives of wife and mother are on the same plane as their own.

Broadly speaking, the same causes that tend to poverty, ignorance, and crime in every land and people are to be found among the Negroes. Closer observation reveals certain race traits and inherited tendencies manifested in the character of crimes committed. The Negro is emotional and is easily influenced to evil; his passions are strong, and he lacks in self-control; his judgment is poor and he does not quickly discern the logical sequence of cause and effect; immediate gratification blinds him to the penal consequences of his act. Add to these ignorance, drunkenness, resentment, or cupidity, and the criminal is accounted for—the homicide, the ravisher, the thief.

Judge W. H. Thomas, of Montgomery, Ala., says in his admirable treatise on "Law and License": "It is noteworthy that the Negro in the South does not kill the white man, nor the white man the Negro as often as the Negro kills the Negro. . . . Unfortunately the Negro holds with too little regard the life of his coloured neighbour when angered by him." In response to an inquiry made of the chaplain of the Tennessee penitentiary, he said, "More than two-thirds of the Negro prisoners here were convicted for crimes committed while angry."

A great wrong is done the Negro by his enemies, his mistaken friends, and the ill-advised members of his own race who by printed or spoken words play upon his emotions so as to produce resentment, for that soon grows to hatred that may at any moment become violence.

Strong drink and exciting drugs have an even more fearful effect upon the Negro than upon the white race. When he is drunk what little self-control he has learned from being forced to check his passions is swept away, and he becomes a murderer or a lustful animal, regardless of consequences. Much, very much of the Negro's worst crimes has been the result of whiskey or, worse still, of a horrid, adulterated gin especially prepared and *labelled* by wicked men to excite his worst passions.

Ignorance is not in itself a sin, but certain it is that crime is most frequently accompanied by it. Bishop Charles B. Galloway of the Methodist Episcopal Church South said in an address delivered at the Normal Conference for Education in the South in Birmingham, 1904:

Indisputable facts attest the statement that education and its attendant influences have elevated the standard and tone of morals among the Negroes of the South. The horrid crimes that furnish an apology for the too frequent expressions of mob violence are committed, almost without exception, by the most ignorant and brutal of the race. I have been at no little pains to ascertain from representatives of various institutions the post-collegiate history of their students and I am profoundly gratified

at the record. I believe it is safe to say that not a single case of criminal assault has ever been charged on a student of a mission school for Negroes founded and sustained by a Christian denomination. A careful study of the exact figures of the United States census will show that the proportion of Negro criminals from the illiterate class has been forty per cent. larger than from the class which has had school training.

Poverty walks a close companion of crime. Not only are the large majority of all criminals poor, but poverty with its concomitants is the basal cause of the crimes of many. The poorest class in the South is largely composed of Negroes. The idle, unemployed class who will not work, or are unable to find work that they can do, become either loafing dependents on others of their race, or thieves. In the homes of poverty there are unsanitary and immoral conditions affecting both the moral and physical life. There often the worst vices reign unchecked and unshamed, and many arrests result from riotous behaviour, brawls, and often murder. Children growing up in these homes and the streets and the alleys adjacent to them are corrupted in their infancy and before they reach maturity they have been added to the criminal class.

It is not well to enter into any discussion of the heinous crime of rape, or its punishment. Only those who live at a distance and have never realized its daily and hourly terror can discuss it dispassionately. Only those whose lives have

never touched a life so wrecked can calmly condemn the agonized fury of those who love the victim. It is only those who have *heard* and *seen* the violence of the mob who can truly deplore it.

If the miscarriage of justice and unequal administration of the law existed in only one section of our country, or was directed towards only one race of people, the subject would be greatly simplified. If partial judges and juries and corruptible policemen were confined to that section and injured that one race, the rest of the world might well throw stones at that unfortunate section. But this is not the case. From all over the country—nay, all over the world—comes the cry of the poor that there is unjust discrimination made in the courts between them and the rich. We have grown familiar with the phrases, "The poor man has no chance with the rich when they go to law," "The rich man bribes himself free," "It is only the poor man who must hang," "The rich man pays his fine, the poor man must go to the workhouse or the chain gang." And again the alien complains that through his ignorance, and often through the prejudice against him, he is unable to secure justice in the courts. Ignorance, poverty, helplessness, each has its cry against the oppression and injustice of the world. It is a cry that ascends unto heaven and will be heard. Justice perverted becomes retributive

and no man or country can fail to receive sooner or later the evil result of his own injustice.

Chancellor Hill, of the University of Georgia, of whom the whole South was proud, and for whose death the whole South grieved, said:

The thing which the South cannot afford in its relation to the Negro race is injustice; all history teaches that injustice injures and deteriorates the individual or nation that practices it, while on the other hand, it develops and strengthens the race upon which it is inflicted.

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

There is no class of statistics more unreliable or more difficult to classify than those relating to birth, death and disease. For this there are many contributory reasons; for example, imperfect registration and, in some states, no registration, of births, an unknown or concealed cause of death, no report of disease that has not resulted in death, and in some sections no official report of persons dying without the attendance of a physician. (This last is of frequent occurrence among the poor in rural districts.)

These usual difficulties face one to a very large degree in considering Negro statistics, owing to the fact that the large majority of them belong to the poor and ignorant class from which such statistics are most difficult to obtain.

From comparing the number of children with the number of women of child-bearing age we find that the Negro birth rate exceeds and has

always exceeded the white birth rate. (The Negro is noted for fecundity, though since 1880 this has decreased.) The coloured death rate greatly exceeds the white. The statistics as to insane and defective are very imperfect and relate only to those in institutions. From these we gather that in 1903 there were in continental United States 9,452 Negroes in hospitals and asylums. Nearly one-third of these were in the North and West, a proportion far in excess of the relative Negro population. This may be offset, however, by the fact that much of the Negro population in the South is in rural districts where the harmless insane and defective are kept at home more generally than in the city. In 1900 there were reported 8,228 blind and over 5,000 deaf Negroes. For every 1,000 living coloured children under one year of age 397 died in the city and 219 in the country; under five years of age, 132 in the city and sixty-seven in the country. These figures tell a story of "the slaughter of the innocents." There is, however, a great improvement in infant mortality during the last decade.

"The Negro, even in the tropics, is especially subject to all affections of the lungs. The black races have in general less fully developed chests and less respiratory power than the European race."¹

¹ Ripley, p. 564.

Dr. G. Stanley Hall says in his pamphlet, "The Negro in Africa and America":

We find in compiling many medical studies of the blacks that their diseases are very different from ours. Their liability to consumption is estimated at from one and a half to three times greater than that of the whites. . . . Very striking is their immunity from malaria and yellow fever, which shows a different composition of the blood. . . . They have extraordinary power to survive both wounds and grave surgical operations. . . . Cancer of the worst kind is rare, as are stone in gall and bladder, and ovarian tumour. There is less insanity but epilepsy is far more common. . . . They are naturally cheerful therefore melancholia and suicide are rare. The strange sleeping sickness they have all to themselves. General paralysis, or softening of the brain, said never to have occurred in slavery, is now sometimes found. Their diseases require modifications of treatment, so that the training of physicians for the two races needs differentiation. . . . Of course mixture of blood brings approximation to pathological conditions.

If this statement be true, and the weight of evidence is with the distinguished writer, it loudly emphasizes the need of physicians who are especially trained for the treatment of the Negro, and for the peculiar training of the Negro physician.

There are many causes for the high rate of mortality among the Negroes and not the least of these are poverty and ignorance.

All observation goes to show that the cities are the hotbeds of crime, misery, and death among the coloured people. They are huddled together, often with two or three families in

one room. Without employment for more than half the time, they are consequently insufficiently fed and poorly clothed. When sick, they are unable either to employ a physician or to buy medicine. At least twenty-five per cent. of them die without medical aid.¹

Not only is poverty the cause of sickness and death, but so also is the ignorance that occasions neglect of sickness and the lack of prevention of contagious disease. Add to these his superstition and social customs and one may sum up the main causes of the excessive death rate of the Negro. Poverty not only leads to the evils stated above, but compels residence in the most unsanitary part of the city, where often the water supply is impure and the drainage bad. It prevents proper disinfection of houses or the separation of the sick from those in health. It compels the labouring man to work under all kinds of exposure and the labouring woman to leave uncared-for the sick in her family. Much of the effects of all this might be saved by intelligent precautions and insistent and quickly applied remedies. The large number of still births are caused by the character of labour performed by the mothers, and by the ignorant midwives who attend them. Later the babes die from the ignorance of the mothers in feeding and caring for them. The neglect of older children leads to much exposure to disease, phys-

¹ Atlanta University Publications, No. 1.

ical and moral—a neglect that extends through life.

It may also be said that much poverty and suffering among the Negroes comes from disease that might be prevented or controlled, or even cured, if they had more knowledge concerning the cause, dissemination, and treatment of the diseases most prevalent among them—chiefly tuberculosis, pneumonia, smallpox, and venereal diseases. They do not value fresh air and regular bathing even when they may be easily obtained, and it is difficult to convince them of their necessity of these for health, especially in the winter, and still more so in the treatment of disease. With many the idea seems to be that air from the outside, except in burning hot weather, will cause them to “ketch cole.” Many will not voluntarily vaccinate themselves or their children, and they resist as far as possible compulsory vaccination though free; consequently their settlements are frequently ravaged by smallpox and form centres of infection to the community at large. But, as has been seen, tuberculosis is the greatest enemy of the Negroes and through them the special menace to the cities and towns where they congregate. There is a certain sort of fatalistic belief in regard to “consumption” that it *must* be inherited where it existed in the parent, that it is not infectious and that it cannot be prevented or cured. When

it comes despair settles down upon the afflicted one and the family. No care whatever is taken to prevent infection, and fresh air is deemed especially hurtful for all "lung troubles." "Knickknacks," rather than nourishing food, are supplied the capricious appetite. "She's gwine ter die anyhow and she jes' as well ter hev what she craves de little time she's here," is an invincible argument.

The Negro's social nature, together with his deficiency in the logical faculty that reasons out future results from present acts, is also responsible in a large degree for the rapid spread of disease among them. They are constantly visiting among each other and having all sorts of gatherings from house to house; visiting the sick and attending funerals (no matter what the nature of the disease) are regarded as especially meritorious. Often the sick-room is a scene of wild religious excitement shared in by the patient, and mothers with little children in their arms will crowd around the bed regardless of contagion.

The intelligent white physician often does a large charitable practice among the poor Negroes, though he has but little hope of his directions being followed. The intelligent Negro physician is often unable to do much charity practice and in many cases, being poor himself, refuses to attend cases where there is no hope of re-

muneration or success. But there is a species of "quack doctors," both white and black, who appeal to the Negro by promising for their nostrums *immediate* and *wonderful* effects and somehow get paid "cash down" for their often injurious medicines. The universally advertised "quack medicines" (especially those of a stimulating character) and the recommendations of those who have used them find ready acceptance with the Negro. Without intelligent diagnosis of his disease, and governed by the most general symptoms, he will take bottle after bottle of medicines that injure his health and to purchase them he will empty his purse of the money necessary to secure the means of health. Unfortunately this deplorable habit is not limited to the Negro.

There is still another enemy that the poor, ignorant Negro has to contend with and is least capable of resisting—the Negro "witch doctor," or "conjurer," who still survives after all these years since leaving Africa, and nearly two generations of freedom. His practice of both "the white art" of healing and the "black art" of destruction continues to find a field in the fear and superstition of the lowest class of his race. If one of these medicine-men pronounces his patient "conjured" and prescribes the remedy—no matter how difficult, disgusting, or foolish—every effort is made to carry out his orders as closely

as possible, to "break the spell" of the enemy that has caused the illness. Time, money, reputation, all are sacrificed to an amazing degree. So great is the effect of the mind upon the body that a man or woman may without any real ailment pine away and die because he cannot find a witch strong enough to "break the spell"; or rebound into sudden health if made to believe he has been released from the power of the enemy. A number of cases could be recited to show the prevalence of this pitiful superstition. Nor is a part of this fear of "conjurers" and their arts altogether groundless, or imaginary, for some of their concoctions are very harmful and their knowledge of subtle poisons, brought from Africa and handed down to descendants, is used in connection with their "charms" and fetiches to cause really incurable disease.

In dealing with these witchcraft troubles any white doctor is at a disadvantage unless he has some peculiar hold upon the love and confidence of the Negroes, for it is a part of their superstitions to keep such things secret from white people. Anything he might say to discount the power of the fetich, or of the coloured quack doctor, would be regarded as an expression of prejudice against the black man, or because, as a white man, he could not understand what belonged to the African. Therefore, it is all-im-

portant that there should be Negro physicians of fine mental and moral ability with special training to do medical work of a missionary character among them. They will feel that the black blood of such a man makes him one with them in sympathy and understanding. They will confide in him, and his unbelief in their superstitions will not offend them as with the white man. But it will be seen at a glance how necessary it is for such a Negro doctor to be not only sympathetic and scientific but so deeply grounded in the things that be of God that his own mind and heart are unenthralled by superstition and he has the power to lead his patients into "the liberty of the children of God."

The census of 1900 reports the Negro physicians as 1,734; male 1,574, female 160. The five Negro medical schools in the South report in 1905 the number of their living graduates as 1,252. In addition to these, there were in 1906 at least 213 Negro graduates of Northern medical schools. These physicians vary, as do the white, in talent. Some have a large, successful practice and are respected by the white doctors, while others make out badly. When their whole number is compared with the Negro population it is seen how great a need and opportunity are presented to the best and most intelligent men and women of the race who have had a college education.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was the number of Negroes in the United States in 1900, and how were they distributed?
2. Why do they continue to remain in the South?
3. Give some statistics showing their industrial and economic progress and their chief occupations.
4. What is the present political status of the Negro, growing out of his misrule when in power?
5. Describe the best home life and the worst among Southern Negroes as seen by different persons.
6. What marked social conditions exist?
7. What is the effect of the woman's clubs, the benevolent societies, and others?
8. What proportion of criminals do the Negroes furnish as compared with their own and the white population?
9. To what crimes are they most addicted, and what are the chief causes of crime among them?
10. What cause have they to complain of the miscarriage of justice that is not to be found by the same class elsewhere?
11. Tell of the present physical condition of the Negro and to what diseases is he especially liable?
12. What conditions are chief factors in producing his large death rate? And what are some of the special causes?
13. Give some of the reasons why it is desirable to have Negro physicians for their own race.

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BIBLE LESSON

Apply thine heart unto instruction and thine ears to the words of knowledge.

Buy the truth and sell it not; also wisdom and instruction.
. . . With all thy getting get understanding. . . .
Through wisdom is an house builded; and by understanding it is established.

Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed . . . thoroughly furnished unto all good works.

Who is a wise man endued with knowledge among you? Let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness of wisdom. . . . To him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin.

V

THE STUDENT

ONLY about five per cent. of the Negroes in 1860 could read and write. Of this number a minority were among the slaves; the majority were "free persons of colour." The former learned what they knew from their owners. The first Negro school, or at least among the first, in the North, was established in New York by Elias Neau in 1704. This was principally for religious instruction, though other subjects were taught, and was supported by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." The Quakers of Philadelphia opened in 1770 a school for Negroes which exists to-day. In Massachusetts a school supported by Negroes was opened in 1798. In 1820 the Negroes of Cincinnati opened a school and other schools were started elsewhere. These schools had a struggling life and many of them passed out of existence. "From about 1835 it became general in the Northern states to have separate schools for the Negroes. They were usually poorer than the schools for whites, worse taught and worse equipped, and wretchedly housed. Beginning with Massachusetts, in 1855, these

separate schools have been abolished in nearly all Northern states.”¹

Some few schools for the Negroes existed here and there through the South before the war. The first was opened in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1774, by the “Society for Propagating the Gospel.” “It flourished greatly and seemed to answer their utmost needs.” In the District of Columbia no less than fifteen schools were conducted, mainly at the expense of the coloured people, between 1800 and 1861. In Savannah a French Negro from San Domingo conducted a free Negro school—openly from 1819 to 1829 and secretly for some time after. In Maryland, St. Francis Academy for coloured girls was founded by the Roman Catholics in 1829. The sisters were coloured. In North Carolina there were several schools.

While the war was yet in progress there were “army schools” opened for the benefit of the refugee Negroes who flocked from the plantations within the bounds of the Federal army. They were principally in Virginia and the Carolinas along the seacoast, and in the Mississippi river towns. These were sustained then, and later, by Northern benevolence and by the use and sale of the confiscated property of the Southern whites.² In 1866 when the Freedman’s Bureau

¹ Atlanta University Publications, No. 6, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 29.

went into effect there were 740 of these "army schools," taught by 1,314 teachers, with 90,589 pupils. The pupils ranged in age from wee toddlers to gray heads. The desire to be educated was almost a craze, yet few appreciated the time and effort involved in the process. Some of the older pupils, discouraged at seeing themselves outstripped by little children, abandoned the schools themselves but urged their children and grandchildren to attend. Others by patient industry attained their desire "to read the Bible."

When the Freedman's Bureau came it took in hand the schools for freedmen already established, and improved them. They were largely increased in number and efficiency, and at the close of its four years of work (1870) General Howard reported 2,677 schools with 3,300 teachers, and 149,581 pupils, for which had been expended \$5,879,924.

It has been stated that the South had no free school system before the war. In 1860 the South had 27,582 public schools with 954,678 pupils, for which there was an annual expenditure by the state of \$5,269,642. The legislative records show that North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia had well organized systems of public schools as early as 1811. In fact the *state* system of *free* public schools originated in the South, and was in operation nearly a half century before

it was adopted by a number of the Northern states.¹ That the South was without public schools in 1865 was the result of the Civil War, the most destructive to all interests of a people that the modern world has ever known. There was not only a lack of schools but of food and clothing among those best capable of supplying the educational needs of the population, white and coloured. While money was being lavished on schools for Negro children, white children lacked equal facilities. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that the first and best efforts of the white South were directed towards caring for its own. Yet between the years 1870 and 1905 the sixteen Southern states expended for the Negro public schools more than \$155,000,000. In the year 1905-6, about \$9,200,000 more was expended. The enrollment of Negro pupils in public schools is about one-fourth as large as that of the white, and the Negro schools receive about one-fifth of the state school funds, or one-fourth as much as the white schools receive. For many years the direct school tax was almost entirely paid by the white property owners. As the Negroes gain property they pay an ever growing amount of the direct as well as their part of the indirect tax.

In addition to the amount expended by the

¹ Dyer, "Democracy in the South Before the War," pp. 66-75.

Southern states for public schools, millions more have been given by the North for church and private schools, principally for higher education. It would be difficult to calculate the total of the vast sums that have been devoted by South and North to Negro education since his emancipation. It would not be an overestimate to place it at \$250,000,000—a quarter of a billion!

CHARACTER OF SCHOOLS

From the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1906, the following statistics are gathered as to Negro schools.

1. *Common schools.* Teachers, 27,747; pupils enrolled, 1,617,998.

2. *Public high schools,* 146; teachers, 891; pupils, 45,037.

3. *Secondary and higher schools other than public,* 127; teachers, 2,057; pupils, 42,500. Of these 25,209 are elementary pupils, 14,281 are secondary, and 310 are college students.

The majority of the institutions in the third group are maintained by the different churches, white and coloured. (A denominational statement of what the women's societies are doing will be found at the close of this book.) Philanthropic associations and individuals have also contributed largely to their establishment and maintenance. Some of them were founded by the United States

government through the Freedman's Bureau, and some of them are state institutions. In 1905-6 the state contributed \$265,640 towards eighteen of these schools. In all of them the tuition fees and board (though very small in some) often make the Negroes themselves contributors to that extent to their support.

These institutions are of different character and grade. Some of them have many departments. Forty-one are normal or have a normal course with 4,574 students; forty have an industrial department with 21,622 students who are being trained to more or less proficiency in various lines of industry. Thirty-four are distinctively termed "colleges" or "universities," but many of these have elementary grades. Twenty-one have professional departments, or professional courses, with 1,907 students. The property of this class of schools is valued at \$11,227,303, and they receive an annual income of \$1,437,480.

The testimonies of many educators of the Negro race, white and black, agree as to the kind and number of schools needed for the race. Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, of the Atlanta University, cannot be accused of partiality in his opinion upon this subject when he says :

From a careful consideration of the facts and of such testimony as has been given, the following propositions seem clear :

1. The great mass of the Negroes need common school and manual training.

2. There is a large and growing demand for industrial and technical training, and trade schools.

3. There is a distinct demand for the higher training of persons selected for talent and character to be leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among the masses.

4. To supply this demand for a higher training there ought to be maintained several colleges in the South.

5. The aim of these colleges should be to supply thoroughly trained teachers, preachers, professional men, and captains of industry.¹

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY

For several important reasons the primary schools should be emphasized as of greater value to the race than those of higher grade, and larger efforts should be made to increase their number and efficiency.

(1) It is the opinion of scientists and educators of long experience that the Negro child, even more than the white child, learns more quickly than one later in life, and it is well known that lessons in morality and religion make a deeper impression in early youth.

(2) The chief reason is that the large majority of Negroes are of the poorer class who will never go beyond the primary school, and what is not learned there will never be learned, and because these schools will furnish the first stage in the sifting process, the separating from the mass of those who have the mental ability to make it worth while to advance to the high school.

¹ Atlanta University Publications, No. 5, p. 111.

This emphasis may be given by having better school buildings and more of them in the city and the country. Larger buildings with more class rooms are required. There should be more teachers with smaller classes. There should be longer school terms. There should be a demand for better-equipped, more intelligent teachers, who have had such normal training as will especially fit them to understand and train the children of their own race.

Of prime importance is the need of manual training in the public schools, including, for girls, practical instruction in domestic science. The earlier in a child's life the muscles of the hands and fingers are trained to respond to the will, the more surely does skilled labour become possible in the later years. The value and dignity of manual labour are more wisely impressed upon the child by showing him how to do such work than by much lecturing. The consciousness of doing good work makes of that work a pleasure and incites to an ambitious effort that will save from future idleness.

Of course the improvements indicated as needed in the public schools will require far more money than is now to be had and a wiser expenditure than has yet been made, especially in the rural districts, and so the possibility of such improvement lies with the future. But it is well to keep this aim before us and steadily work

towards it. A first step in that direction is the wise and generous gift of Miss Anna P. Jeanes of \$1,000,000 for the use of the Negro *rural* public schools. This fund was placed in wise, experienced hands and will be wisely and intelligently administered. So far the Board of Trustees has devoted its attention to the investigation of conditions. It plans to use the interest of this fund as far as possible in encouraging Negroes to do more for their own schools, and at the same time to do everything possible to induce the local school authorities to do more from the present school funds for the Negro schools than is being done in many places. In other words, in the county where the teacher receives \$20 a month, say for a four months' school, the aim will be to get the coloured people to raise sufficient money to add a month, or a month and a half, to the school term and the Board of Trustees add as much more, provided the School Board will increase the salary to, say, \$25, and provided, also, that the teacher is deserving and intelligent. A part of the plan is the elimination so far as possible of all teachers who are not deserving and qualified for the work. The Board regards the outlook at present as hopeful. May we not hope that other rich women and men will see the wisdom of largely increasing this fund, and may we not also hope that wise, Christian men and women living in localities where this fund is to be used

will aid in every way possible the full execution of the Board's plans? In no way can Negro education be better advanced than by improving the rural public schools. The great mass of the people live in the country, where there is more ignorance and where there are, at present, the poorest school advantages.

NORMAL SCHOOLS

The value of the normal school to the common and high schools is beyond computation. One may know much and be but a poor teacher until he has been taught how to impart his knowledge. Especially is this true of those who would teach *children*, or any who are undeveloped mentally. Through these schools many teachers have been prepared who are doing good work to-day, and it is to be regretted that so many other teachers have not had the advantage of their training. But many of them must do a still broader, more thorough work if they would fulfill their whole mission. The course of study should include methods suited to the Negro child in order to secure the right development of his natural powers, giving proper consideration to heredity and environment. This necessarily involves a clear, practical knowledge by the normal teacher of the race and its present conditions. If industrial features are ever to be introduced into the primary and secondary schools, the normal





BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

Principal of Tuskegee Institute

*"The man who has proved himself to be the greatest representative
of his race."*

schools must prepare the way for them by giving to their future teachers practical courses in the industrial branches that may be taught in the lower schools. The fact that all public schools for Negroes in the South are taught exclusively by Negroes adds a strong argument for the maintenance of Negro normal schools of the highest degree of efficiency.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

Regarding Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes as models of the kind of industrial schools the Negro needs, too much cannot be said as to their value both for the present and the future development of the race. The latter institution is an outgrowth of the former in that Hampton trained and gave to Tuskegee its distinguished principal, a man who has proved himself to be the greatest representative of his race. The history of these great schools is too well known to need to be reproduced here. The results of their work are already manifest, not only in the industrial life of the coloured people that have come under their influence, but in their mental attitude towards life and its best aims, in a new view of the dignity of honest work and the honesty of good work.

That a man or woman has earned his or her education adds tenfold to its value as a life force, and if in the earning of it he has prepared him-

self to take up a trade or line of business that will enable him to gain a living for himself and his family, more than half of life's battle has been fought. For every one such there is a place waiting in this world in which he will be respected and self-respecting, no matter what his race or colour.

There are a large number of Negroes not able either mentally or financially to get a real college education, to whom such schools are a great and special providence. There should be at least two other large industrial institutions, one in Texas or the Southwest and one in the Southeast,—and their greatest work should consist in training men and women who can in turn train industrially the great mass of the people in private secondary schools and in the public schools of city and country. It is there, too, that the leaders of great industrial enterprises must be trained for the future and its needs.

As a further development of the industrial school thought must come the distinctive "trade school" that is already in demand for both races. Hampton and Tuskegee are making a near approach to this; and they are doing much to create a demand for them and are preparing their future instructors.

The woman side of industrial education is replete with meaning both for herself and the race. If made truly valuable by being both skillful and

practical it will mean moral as well as physical betterment for herself, her home, and her family. If she should be a bread-winner it will insure for her remunerative employment.

Not until we appreciate the dignity of labour, and learn that every kind of labour that supplies a need or looks to the advancement of humanity is equally honourable, will we accept the fact that every man owes it to himself and his fellows to devote himself to that kind of work for which by nature he is best fitted. That only is honest labour which is the best a man can do. He only is an honest workman who does what he can do best. Impress these ideas upon the childhood and youth of to-day, and the effect will be seen in the men and women of the future, not only in the increased industry of the race but in a wiser selection of employment. Ambition means effort to become that which is desired, and if it appears just as desirable to be a skilled mechanic or agriculturist, or railroad builder, as to be a professional man, then these occupations will cease to appear on a lower industrial plane than the professions and, when they are valued as of importance to human life, efforts will be made to do good, honest work in all of them.

THE COLLEGE

The college course is not to be graded higher in *practical* value to the race than industrial

training, but it does a work that the other cannot do, and supplies as great, though a different need. The college must be looked to to furnish thoroughly educated men and women for teachers in all the lower schools if these elementary institutions are to be productive of the best results. From them must come the trained men who are to make skillful physicians and surgeons, clear-thinking lawyers, and preachers from whose minds have been broken the shackles of ignorance and superstition. These are all a felt need of the race, and its future evolution depends largely on their character and work. To deny or withhold such preparation from the natural leaders of the race would be to dwarf its powers and make it a still greater problem to the nation as its numbers increase.

John R. Mott says :

“ The universities and colleges teach the teachers, preach to the preachers, and govern the governors. They are the strategic points in civilization. As go these institutions of higher learning, so go the nations.”

Some changes should be made in this class of schools. Dr. Dubois asserts that out of the thirty-four Negro colleges existing in the South in 1900 only about ten were needed to accommodate the pupils that should continue a college course, and there would be left large room for growth. He suggests that twenty-two of the

smaller institutions leave off their college departments and develop into normal or industrial schools, allowing the college work to be concentrated in the ten large institutions. This would secure better equipment, create a higher standard, and save much criticism. The great hindrance to such a movement, he thinks, would be sectarianism in denominational schools.¹

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

Following the college come the professional schools. The number of these could not be definitely learned, but their nearly three thousand students and graduates tell of the work that is being done. In every city and in many towns throughout the South these men are to be found in the court-houses, the pulpits, and the sick-rooms, each in his place and each according to his ability helping to fulfill and guide the destiny of his people.

Dr. G. W. Hubbard, Dean of the Maharry Medical College, Nashville, Tennessee, says in the *Southern Workman*:

There is an urgent need of an increased number of Christian Negro physicians in the South. In addition to their work of ministering to the sick, their services would be of incalculable value in giving their people instruction in the observance of the laws of health and in providing comfortable homes for themselves. They would also be able to teach them by pre-

¹ Atlanta University Publications, No. 5, p. 112.

cept and example to lead pure, noble, and upright Christian lives. . . . The great proportion of the graduate Negro physicians are located in the large cities and towns, few being found in the country districts. . . . The relations that have existed between the white and the coloured physicians of the South have been most commendable. The coloured have been treated with courtesy and respect by the white medical profession. They have been given all needed assistance in serious cases and difficult surgical operations. There is less friction between the races in the practice of medicine than in any other part of industrial or professional activity.

A CENTRAL UNIVERSITY

As a climax to Negro education it has been wisely suggested that a great central university should be established in one of our large cities, where there would be ample opportunity for the students while acquiring the necessary theoretical instruction to study actual conditions among the masses, as well as among the best class of Negroes. Washington or Baltimore or Atlanta would be a favourable location. It should be a kind of educational laboratory, a university of practical investigation for all lines of life. The requirements for entrance should be maturity, intelligence, education, morality, and a consecrated zeal that leads the student to devote his life to the elevation of his people. These students should, as far as is possible to human nature, banish all race prejudice and sensitiveness from their minds and make an honest study of the race life of the Negro and its traits and charac-

teristics from the standpoints of anthropology and psychology. They should also acquaint themselves with the history and development of the race since its coming into America, weighing fairly and impartially all contrary statements and opinions. They should not content themselves with printed accounts of present conditions in the city and in the country, but make first-hand investigations and close personal study of the different phases of life. They should know of the demoralizing social evils, and devastating diseases, the mockery of religion in some of the churches, and the gross practices among some of the clergy. They should also know how out of and over all these hindrances many members of the race have come victorious to a high plane of life, and with this knowledge they should take heart and hope to fight the evils that are tending towards the destruction of the great ignorant mass.

The Negro, out of his subjective consciousness, knows that which pertains to his own race,—knows it as it is difficult, yea, well-nigh impossible for the Caucasian race to know it,—and men so trained should be far more capable of training the Negro brain, of meeting the needs of his physical life and of responding to his spiritual nature than the white man, be he ever so wise and sympathetic. That there are Negro men capable of receiving and nobly using such training has been abundantly proven.

RACIAL DIFFERENCES

In any training of the Negro mind, consideration should be given to the different racial elements that inhere in the whole race, to the natural endowment, and the history and environment that differentiate the Negro race from the Caucasian race.

The American Negroes when closely investigated and studied are found to form four racial groups. (1) The true Negro, of whom there are several types—Guinea Coast, Hottentot, and Bushman—constitutes the majority of those in the South. These types have distinctive characteristics, and vary in mental ability and possibilities of elevation. (2) The Hamitic Negro,—Bantu, Zulu, and Kaffir—is found in fewer numbers throughout the whole country but most frequently in Virginia and the Carolinas. (3) The Semitic Negro—Sudanese, and Dahomian—is found in smaller numbers than any other class. (4) The Caucasian Negroes—mulattoes, quadroons, and octoroons—are found in increasing numbers throughout the whole country, but predominant in proportion to the Negro population in the North.

Many Hamitic, Semitic, and Caucasian Negroes have fine minds and naturally become the leaders of their people. The Hamitic Negro is warlike and dominant in Africa and also in America among his own people. The Semitic

Negro has a gentle, placid nature and is especially adapted to domestic life. The Caucasian Negro is of too recent origin to get the necessary perspective for a fair estimate of race type, but many individuals of this class indicate great possibilities. This last group may be divided into three classes, not as to the relative amount of white and black blood, or as to colour, but as to certain marked characteristics. First, there is the large, muscular type with the Negro features magnified, who is self-assertive and loud-voiced. The second type resembles the first but is inferior to it physically and mentally. These two classes often combine the worst traits of both races and form the most dangerous elements of the Negro population. The third type more nearly resembles the Caucasian physically and mentally and in inclinations, and some have minds capable of the highest culture.¹

Of course all these groups have been modified by frequent admixture among themselves, thus blending their different characteristics, and here and there may be found one or more of an entirely different type from any here mentioned. Yet taken as a whole people, these four groups are so marked and diverse, not only in their characteristics but in their possibilities, that it would be manifestly unfair to demand the same treat-

¹Robert Bennett Bean, in *Century Magazine*, September, 1906.

ment, training, and education for all Negroes under all circumstances. If this is true how much more unjust to do so for the still more widely divergent white and black races in their different stages of development.

Not only in solving the political and social Negro problem, but in educating and Christianizing him there are fundamental principles that should be considered and established in order to secure a reasonable basis upon which to build and proceed to success. This will require a careful study of the different races of mankind.

This is not the place to present the divergent views of scientists as to certain racial mental differences. That must be left to students of anthropology and psychology, whose investigations have not yet reached undoubted conclusions. The day may come when out of their honest, patient investigations there will be evolved assured facts relating to the mind and spirit that will enable those who follow after them to labour more wisely for man's advancement and God's glory.

In dealing with, or passing judgment upon, any race due consideration must be given to the history and status of that race in the life of humanity. It is in accord with the laws of evolution to recognize the Negro as "a child race" that must proceed, as all races have done, through the processes of development to its highest and

best. No race has risen as a whole with a sudden bound from one step in its evolution to another. There have always been first, individuals, then groups, that have appeared above the level of the mass and by their efforts, alone or aided, according to circumstances, have helped to lift up those on the lower plane. "Rome was not built in a day"; far less the peoples that formed the great Roman Empire.

Looking back only a few generations to the African savage and less than fifty years to the slave we see a remarkable progress in the mental evolution of the American Negro. To expect that the whole race in so short a period of time would reach the highest level of civilization and of mental and moral development would be to demand of it a miracle such as no other race in the world has performed. Yet when we note such facts as that the literacy of the race has risen from five per cent. to about sixty per cent. in less than fifty years, we claim that such an educational advancement is without parallel in a race, and it appears still more remarkable when we find a rapidly growing class of its men and women entering the higher ranks of educators. With such facts before us we are ready to say that that which God has begun to work out for the race and through the race for the world shall be accomplished. There is no cause for discouragement when we look backward; there is every

reason to hope when we look forward with the patience of faith.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Tell of the ante-bellum schools.
2. Tell of the army schools and of the work done by the Freedman's Bureau.
3. What amounts of money have been expended by the Southern states for Negro schools, and what is the probable total of money contributed from all sources for Negro education?
4. Give the character, grade, and statistics of Negro schools in 1906.
5. What kind and number of schools are required to meet the present need of the race?
6. What is said of the public schools—primary and secondary? What should be done to secure their efficiency?
7. What place does the normal school hold?
8. What of the great value of industrial schools?
9. Why is it so important to have schools of higher learning—colleges, professional schools, and training schools?

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VI

THE CHRISTIAN

BIBLE LESSON

God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.

Whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the Word, this man shall be blessed in his deed. . . . Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction and to keep himself unspotted from the world.

The trying of your faith worketh patience. But let patience have her perfect work and entire, wanting nothing. If any of you lack wisdom let him ask of God, that giveth liberally to all men and upbraideth not ; and it shall be given him.

I have raised thee up, that I might show My power in thee, and that My name might be declared throughout all the earth. . . .

Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.

VI

THE CHRISTIAN

WE have noted the progress of the American Negro as a citizen in his industrial and economic attainments, his home and social life, his political, criminal, and physical status. We have also seen him as a student in all the different phases of his educational world. We must now turn our attention to the still more important side of his nature, the spiritual, and consider him as a Christian and see how far he has advanced in church organization and attainment in righteousness.

GROWTH IN ORGANIZATION

Religious statistics are always difficult to obtain because of the inaccuracy of church records. This is markedly the case among the Negroes and the difficulty is increased by the fact that some white churches have Negro members which they do not report separately.

The majority of the Negroes are Baptists or Methodists. In Dr. Strong's "Social Progress for 1906" the combined reports of eight Negro Methodist organizations place their membership at 1,863,258, with 14,844 regular preachers and

30,725 local preachers. Their church property is valued at \$22,267,298. The coloured Baptist churches report a membership of 2,038,427, with 16,080 ministers, and church property valued at \$12,196,130. There are some Baptist organizations with considerable following of which no report could be obtained. Besides these there are a large number of coloured members in the following churches: Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian (North and South), Reformed Presbyterian, Episcopal, Congregational, Disciples of Christ, some small Methodist bodies, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic. Considering the rate of growth in the past it will be a safe estimate to say that at this time there are 4,500,000 enrolled as church-members, and at least 3,000,000 adherents; or that more than two-thirds of the entire Negro population are related to some Church.

The first church organization for Negroes only, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was effected under the leadership of Richard Allen. "This was owing to a defection among the coloured members in Philadelphia, by which upward of 1,000 in that city withdrew from the Methodist Episcopal Church. . . . At their first General Conference Richard Allen was elected Bishop."¹ This Church spread slowly at first through the Northern states but did not

¹ Bangs, "History of Methodism."

come South until after the Civil War. Now it is widely distributed, having 452,725 communicants and property valued at \$6,468,280. It has to-day in Africa one hundred and eighty missions with 12,000 members, besides missions in Canada and the West Indies. It supports at home twenty-five schools with about 4,000 pupils and has property valued at \$535,000.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was organized in New York and had a similar history to the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Its last available report claims 349,788 communicants and church property of all kinds valued at \$4,865,372. It has established and maintained nineteen schools. These two Churches have united and the consolidated organization forms one of the largest denominations in this country. It is possible that other smaller Negro Methodist denominations will in the near future unite with them.

The Coloured Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1866 by the Methodist Episcopal Church South, out of its coloured members. Two bishops of their own election were ordained, and all church property that had been acquired, held, and used for Methodist Negroes was turned over to them. This Church has now 300,000 communicants and property, valued at \$2,525,600. It supports five schools and has a publishing house worth \$20,000.

There are four smaller Methodist organizations, and the Methodist Episcopal Church has 292,109 coloured members.

The first Baptist Church for coloured people was organized in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1796. There are now six Baptist denominations, the largest, known as the Regular Baptists, having 1,348,989 members with property valued at \$9,038,549. "These Baptist churches unite in associations and state conventions for missionary and educational work. For a long time, however, it seemed impossible to unite any large number of them in a national convention, but this has at last been done. The National Baptist Convention (all Negroes) was organized at Atlanta, Georgia, September 28, 1895. Its objects are missionary and educational work and the publication of religious literature."¹

The most remarkable result of the united effort of the Negro Baptists is the home mission department, including the publishing house. For these purposes in 1902 they expended \$81,658. They have established foreign missions in various parts of Africa, the West Indies, South America, and Russia. In these missions they support thirty-seven missionaries and a large number of native helpers. Of the missionaries eight are American Negroes and eleven are native Africans who have received their

¹ Atlanta University Publications, No. 8, p. 111.

education in America. Through its educational department this Church maintains in America eighty schools with probably 6,000 or 7,000 pupils. They are for the most part primary and secondary schools and supplement the public schools. School property is valued at \$564,000, and they raised in 1902 the sum of \$127,941 for education. Forty-three newspapers and magazines are published by them.

The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) reported in 1908 a membership of 55,881 and 475 ministers in strictly Negro churches.

The Congregational, Presbyterian, Cumberland Presbyterian, and Episcopal Churches are largely the immediate result of the educational institutions of these Churches and as a general thing their ministers and congregations are from the educated class, but they are few in number and increase slowly. The membership of these four denominations numbers about 65,000. They have no distinct general organizations, but are affiliated with the white churches through whose missionary effort they were organized.

There are but few Roman Catholics outside of Louisiana and other parts of the country that were formerly under French or Spanish domination. No statistics concerning them could be obtained.

In all of these churches there are women's missionary societies more or less developed and

effective. There are also many benevolent societies that do much local home mission and charity work. There are generally societies of various kinds for young people and children. The difficulty of procuring correct data of these organizations renders it impossible even to estimate their numerical or spiritual force. Outside of the regular preaching service, the Sunday-school is the most universal and best developed feature in all the churches, and the teaching and training of Sunday-school teachers presents a large opportunity to those who desire to do local missionary work among the Negroes.

It has been an oft expressed hope that the educated Christian Negro of America would prove a power for the evangelization of Africa. As yet this hope is far from a realization. Many Negroes in the North have had opportunities for education for a century, many in the South for forty-four years, and as yet, so far as information can be obtained, there are only thirty-six American-born Negroes employed as missionaries in Africa by the two Negro societies and the six white societies at work in that great continent. This may be accounted for by two facts; first, the large need of the Negro for missionary work at home, and second, foreign missions have ever been the fruit of mature spiritual culture.

The Young Men's Christian Association is doing a good and growing work both in city and

college. There are at present one hundred and twenty-six coloured associations with a membership of 9,198, and sixteen buildings are owned valued at \$185,900. There are twenty-eight secretaries employed by the local associations. W. A. Hunton is the secretary of the Coloured Men's Department of the International Committee.

CHURCH CONDITIONS AND METHODS

The Atlanta University has issued as one of its social studies a pamphlet designated "The Negro Church."¹ Though one may not agree with all the conclusions drawn, yet the first-hand investigations it presents are very valuable. These investigations are made by intelligent, educated Negroes in different localities, North and South, and are generally based on the following inquiries :

1. What is the condition of the churches ?
2. What is the influence of the churches ?
3. Are the ministers good ?
4. What charity work is done ?
5. What is done for the young people ?
6. Are moral standards being raised ?

The responses made to these questions are re-

¹This pamphlet is prepared and edited by Dr. W. E. B. Du-bois, of the Atlanta University, one of the leading Negroes in the South in the advocacy of higher education. That publication is responsible for the statements under this heading.

markable chiefly for their diversity, running from one end of the gamut of opinion to the other—from the extreme of optimism to the extreme of pessimism. This is what might be expected in any investigation of the religious life of individuals or of communities, yet the facts and illustrations upon which these opinions are based are extremely interesting and suggestive. It would not be possible here to give more than a brief summary of these, with a few items especially illustrative.

In a "Black Belt" county of Georgia there are ninety-eight churches of all denominations, the Baptist predominating, for a Negro population of 17,450. "Unlike most of our American population, the Negro is well churched. It is his only institution and forms the centre of his public life." Many of these churches have been formed as the result of "a split" caused by internal dissension and not from the home mission work of the larger churches. These churches demand the shout-producing preacher and value his ability to preach "rousement" sermons more than his education or morals. The result is that young men of ability and education are driven out of the ministry and the Church has no influence over those of both sexes who have been to college, nor can it draw them to its services, except as it furnishes them amusement. Inordinate rivalry exists between the denominations to the extent of "petty

meannesses," and money ranks a member higher than morality. There are about one hundred and twenty preachers in the county. The number might be doubled if there were added all who *call themselves* preachers and who try to interpret the Word of God. Out of forty-three applicants for admission to a Methodist Conference, thirty-five were refused, but that did not deter them from preaching.

Learned or unlearned, the Negro preacher is to-day the leader of the race. The ignorant preacher has an ignorant wife and their home life is on no higher level than the home lives of their congregations. In morality they have much to learn: morality as it affects (1) temperance, (2) debt-paying and business honesty, (3) sexual relations. Responses from "intelligent laymen" in this county generally accuse the preachers of being sexually immoral and many say, "The influence of the Church is bad," yet these statements are contradicted by others who say, "The moral standards are being raised." One says, "There are fewer separations of husbands and wives, and fewer illegitimate children."

In the city of Atlanta, where there was in 1900 a Negro population of 35,727, there are fifty-four churches—twenty-nine Baptist and twenty-one Methodist—and only four of other denominations. Their united membership is 16,261 and church property is valued at \$252,508. Some of

the churches have good buildings and large congregations. Some of them are in debt and some are small with the membership poor. The characters of the pastors are pronounced good, and their education fair, though there are some exceptions. The education of the members varies from "fair" to "very poor."

Many of the most influential wealthy churches of this city are Baptist, while others of that denomination are among the poorest. One of the latter class claims only six active members and another only fourteen, while one of the first class has 1,560 active members that include some of the best coloured people of the city and has less than a hundred illiterate persons. The pastor has a good character and a good education. It has one of the largest Sunday-schools in the city, supports two missions, and does a large amount of charity work.

One of the largest Methodist churches in Atlanta has 500 active members and is composed of the best class of working people with a large number of educated people and graduates of the schools. The pastor is "a gentleman and an honest man." It supports a salaried deaconess to take charge of its charitable work. It does much for its young people, having a large Sunday-school, besides classes in cooking and sewing and a week-day class in religious training. Another Methodist church has 600 *active* members,

but a total membership of 1,400 composed of some of the most influential and cultured coloured people in the city, a considerable number of them being school-teachers and property owners. The church is a handsome edifice that cost \$50,000 and seats 3,000 people. It expends much in charity and last year contributed \$360 for missions. The pastor has a good character and a good education.

The pastors of the Congregational, Episcopal, and Presbyterian Churches of Atlanta are described as having excellent characters and being finely educated. Most of the members are educated and a large per cent. are business and professional men and women. The four have a combined membership of 883.

Conditions at Richmond, Va., are similar to those in Atlanta. There are fewer churches, but these have a larger membership and their church buildings are better. In fact, these conditions with some modifications are found in many cities of the South.

At Farmville, Va., a small town, there is a Baptist church that in a way is a good representative of the down-town or "Institutional" church so strongly advocated by many church leaders. The auditorium is large and attractive.

It is the central club house of the community. Various organizations meet there, entertainments and lectures are given, and the whole social life of its members and their families

centres there. The unifying and directing force is, however, in religious exercises of some sort. The result of this is not so much that recreation and social life have become stiff and austere, but rather that religious exercises have acquired a free and easy expression and in some respects serve as amusements. For instance, the camp-meeting is a picnic with incidental sermons and singing; the rally of the country churches, called the "big meetin'," is the occasion of the pleasantest social intercourse, with a free barbecue; the Sunday-school convention and the various preachers' conventions are occasions of reunions and festivities. Even the weekly Sunday service serves as a pleasant meeting-place for working people who find little time for visiting during the week. . . .

From these facts, however, one must not hastily form the conclusion that the religion of such churches is hollow or their spiritual influence wanting. While under present circumstances the Negro church cannot be simply a spiritual agency, but must also be a social, intellectual, and economic centre, it nevertheless *is* a spiritual centre of wide influence that carries nothing immoral or baneful. The sermons are apt to be fervent repetitions of an orthodox Calvinism . . . with strong condemnation of the grosser sins and of gossip and "meanness." . . . There are long continued revivals, but with fewer of the wild scenes of excitement that used to be the rule.¹

These descriptions of the different classes of city and country churches in Georgia and Virginia may serve as illustrations of the conditions existing throughout the South, varying more or less according to the local conditions of education, wealth, and personal preference. There are some good and some bad preachers, some educated and some ignorant congregations, some handsome churches and some dirty hovels.

¹ Atlanta University Publications, No. 8, pp. 81-82.

Many churches are in debt. The preachers in the country churches and small towns are generally poorly paid, but they usually live as well as their congregations, who are as liberal as their own scant incomes admit.

The Negro churches in the North vary in character as they do in the South, and as a whole are neither better nor worse.

In New York City there are not less than 30,000 Negroes who are crystallized around three most undesirable centres. There are nine churches and three missions belonging to the different denominations.

The aggregate church-membership is very little less than 4,000. The average attendance upon worship at night (nobody there attends a coloured church to any extent except at night) is nearly 3,000. . . . There are only 1,725 pupils in the Sunday-schools, with an average attendance of 1,200. There is a lack of competent teachers and of means to procure better facilities, and many families are too poor to supply decent clothing for their children. . . . The church property is valued at \$617,500, with an indebtedness on it of \$100,000, while less than \$100,000 has been contributed by white people to the aid of these better places of worship. . . . A few individual members are in comfortable circumstances, but not one would be rightly considered wealthy. . . . The coloured tenants pay a higher rent than any other class, and they must feed and clothe themselves with all the chances in the industrial field against them. . . . There is a constant stream of coloured immigrants from the South, mostly unskilled labourers, and their simple Southern faith does not seem to stand very well the chilling touch of a Northern atmosphere. . . . Many refuse to affiliate with our churches. . . .

Exposed to the temptations of city life, the number of them that drift back into sin is appalling.¹

In 1900 Philadelphia had 62,613 Negroes. There were fifty-five churches in all, with 13,000 members and property valued at \$910,000.

The social life centres in the Church and this central club house tends to become more and more luxuriously furnished. . . . The average Negro preacher in this city is a shrewd manager, a respectable man, a good talker, a pleasant companion, but neither learned nor spiritual, nor a reformer. The moral standards are set by the congregation and vary from church to church.²

Conditions are much better in these Eastern cities than in Chicago. The Negro population there was over 30,000 in 1900, and out of that number there were only about 5,000 active church-members reported in the thirty-two churches. Only sixteen of these churches own the places where they worship, and all but two carry large debts. All church property is valued at \$178,800. Some of the preachers are reported as "immoral" or "intemperate" or "dishonest"; some of the congregations are described as "intelligent," "rather intelligent" and "ignorant."

As a rule the churches are marked with inefficiency and a lack of a proper regard for the moral development of the people in honesty, sexual purity, etc. . . . The larger churches,

¹ "The Religious Condition of New York City," pp. 58-62.

² Dubois, "The Philadelphia Negro," p. 204.

some of them imposing edifices, are largely attended by fashionably dressed people. The smaller ones have a hard struggle to exist. There is a constant demand for money in all of them. . . . The young people of the intellectual class are not attracted to the Church. . . . One of the largest churches set a premium upon ignorance and drove the younger element from the church. . . . A very small percentage of our professional men and women are regular in their church attendance.¹

“The standards of life are being raised, and there is a marked improvement in the matter of purity of life,” says Dr. H. B. Frissell, the President of Hampton Institute, who has had an experience of twenty-one years in the schools and homes of the coloured people. There are various grades of morality among Negroes (as among other people) and a vast work yet remains to be done for them and by them that they may be fully Christianized, but it is due to them that they be “sometimes judged by their best and not always by their worst.”

Large masses of the people, both on the plantations and in city slums, are fearfully ignorant and immoral. They are still under the sway of superstition; there is scanty school training in many rural districts and for only a few months in the year; there is nothing from the better outside life to stimulate mind or spirit; no influence except in the Church for their uplift and, alas! this is often lacking because the

¹ Atlanta University Publications, No. 8, p. 89.

preacher is no whit above themselves either in knowledge or morality.

It has been said that the Negro plantation preacher is the curse of the people. Honesty, truth, and purity are not taught, because neither he nor the people have come to realize that these virtues are essential to the religious life. The ethical power of Christianity is scarcely felt. The time is ripe for a forward gospel campaign in the great, needy "back country" of the Black Belt.¹

A campaign is needed that will include both the evangelist and the pastor, who should be a patient instructor in righteousness. The people need not only to accept the truth, but to be established and built up in the truth—to be *Christianized* as well as evangelized.

THE RELIGIOUS NATURE OF THE NEGRO

It is coming to be more and more a habit of thought and speech to put ethics and emotion in different sides of the religious balances and to presuppose that where the latter exists to any great degree the former is lacking. Growing out of this view almost a demand is made upon the Negro to repress his emotional nature, to forbid its expression in his religious services, and by this to give evidence that he has progressed in the true religious life and attained to the ethical stage. What would Wesley and Whitefield and Finney and hundreds of great

¹ Atlanta University Publications, No. 8, p. 151.

“preachers of righteousness” in the past, and Evan Roberts, one of the greatest evangelists of to-day, say of this doctrine of repression?

That the Negro has an emotional religion has been dwelt upon in the discussions of the spiritual side of his life and counted against his possession of the real religious experience. His shouting, moans of grief and tears of joy, fervent ejaculations, vivid experiences,—all are regarded as simply the physical excitement of the ignorant and often of the immoral. A protest must be entered here against such misunderstanding of the Negro Christian who thus expresses his emotion. Of course there may be, and unquestionably are, many hypocrites among them (certainly there are among white people) who thus ape what they think will give the appearance of piety, and many who transcend all the bounds of propriety, even decency. Of these there are a great number whose every-day lives are far from being pious or moral. These and their demonstrations are the counterfeit of the real Christians who “let their joys be known,” and their inconsistent lives should receive church discipline, and firm restraint should be put upon their unseemly exercises. These persons should not, however, be taken as a type of a large body of Christians.

The Christian religion is based on the emotion of *love*. Jesus said the first and greatest commandment was to *love God*, and the second to

love mankind, and that on these two "hang all the law and the prophets." The fruits of the spirit are expressed in the terms of emotion—"love, joy, peace"—and out of these come as a natural growth a righteous life. Since, according to Christ's words, *all true* Christians possess an emotional religion, the seen difference in them must be that some desire and are able to control those emotions in their outward expression and some do not and cannot. There are three classes of people who are noticeably lacking in self-control of any kind—young children, ignorant people, and mentally or morally weak people. The Negro is a child race in its development. In the African wilds they did not learn how to control either their emotions or appetites, and these grew weak through indulgence. In slavery they were controlled in everything else more than in these. Self-control means self-mastery and belongs to maturity of life and is the result of mental and moral training. There are very many Negroes, as we have seen, who are very ignorant, and these, like ignorant, untrained people of other races, are easily swayed by their feelings, whatever they may be, and give uncontrolled expression to them. It is also true that some races are more demonstrative than others—the Latin races more than the Teutonic, the Negro more than the Indian—some individuals more than others of the same race, and even of the same family.

The Negro as a race may be said to have a religious temperament. He has heart power—the power of loving—and a vivid imagination that lays hold with strong faith on the unseen. When he has come into the Christian life and before he has learned self-control he finds great satisfaction in giving outward expression to the deep feelings that fill his heart and overmaster him. As self-control is gained, the outward, physical demonstrations gradually cease with him as with the educated of other races. While the ignorant masses of Negroes, especially in the rural districts, have not outgrown the “noisy meeting,” the process of evolution along the educational and social lines is manifested in that the better educated, more refined Negroes have left these things behind them. It would be as genuine a surprise to some of their best city congregations to hear a shout in their midst as such a demonstration would be in a neighbouring white church.

While all this is true, a protest must be entered against the idea that because a Christian—white or black, man or woman—gives outward manifestation to the inward joy that *therefore* there is no intelligent conception of divine truths, or that there is a lack of their ethical expression in the life. During the days of slavery many of those who were “shouting Christians” were also *living* members of the body of Christ and walked in their integrity uncondemned before God and man, and

there are such persons living to-day whose godly, unselfish lives would be an example to some who have better control over their emotions. The Negroes as a race may not possess yet the highly cultured conscience that would enable them to deal with fine turns of casuistry and hair-splitting ethics, but let them have time—the processes of development in the spirit world are as slow as in the natural—*give them time* and help them to know God's Word and love God's will and the hope may be entertained that they will grow into a race of good men and women who are good because they *love* God and *delight* to do His will.

Christian Negroes gained while yet in slavery not only a true mental conception of God, but a spiritual perception of His truth which was manifest in their related experiences and prayers to those who heard them in that day. A record of this fact has been preserved and handed down to later generations in their songs, and of them more than of any other people it may be said, "Their songs are the voice of the soul." To those well versed in what are called "Plantation Melodies" it is clear that not only did the Negro possess an orthodox theology but it possessed him, permeating as it did his whole life, and moulding his religious experience.

"The Negro was ever singing; he sang of his troubles and hopes, his bondage and his freedom. Mingled with these were echoes of his struggles

with sin, his striving after godliness, his fleeing from Satan, his search for God.”¹

They believed in God as the maker and ruler of all things and sang:

“ He is King of kings ;
He is Lord of lords ;
No man works like Him.”

His omnipresence and close knowledge of our daily lives were expressed in

“ Oh, He sees all you do,
He hears all you say.”

They believed in Jesus as the atoning Son of God and sang :

“ Ever see such a man as God ?
He gave up His Son for to come an’ die,
Gave up His Son for to come an’ die
Just to save my soul from a burning fire.”

They saluted Him as their King :

“ Reign, er reign, er reign, my Saviour,
Reign, Mass’ Jesus, er reign.”

They expressed their deep love as they sang :

“ Oh, when I come to die
Give me Jesus, give me Jesus, give me Jesus,
You may have all the world, but give me
Jesus.”

¹Proctor, *Southern Workman*, November, 1907. The author is much indebted to this writer for some suggestions in what follows.

With voices trembling with unsimulated grief,
they sang of His death :

“ Were you there when they crucified my Lord?
Were you there when they nailed Him to a
tree ?

Oh, sometimes it causes me to tremble, trem-
ble, tremble.”

They believed in the Holy Spirit. No one
could be a Christian without the “ witness of the
Spirit ” ; no one could preach without a revela-
tion of the Spirit ; no meeting could be success-
ful without an outpouring of the Spirit clearly
manifested. They sang :

“ When Peter was preachin’ at Pentecost,
He was filled with the Holy Ghost,”

and again :

“ If you wants to ketch that heavenly breeze,
Go down in the valley on yer knees.
Go bow yer knees upon de groun’
An’ ax de Lord ter turn yer roun’.”

At the height of a camp-meeting sermon their
song leader will sing out :

“ Oh, I feel de Spirit a-movin’,”

and the audience will respond,

“ Don’t get weary
Dar’s a great camp-meetin’ in de promus
lan’.”

They believed in repentance for sin and for-

givenness in response to confession. Could a more pathetic expression be given of the loneliness of a soul that feels cut off by sin from God than in the song,

“ I couldn’t hear nobody pray ” ?

Longing to grow in grace and seeing the inch worm measuring its way along slowly on the ground, some poet-moralist saw it as a symbol of Christian growth :

“ ’Twas inch by inch I sought the Lord,
Jesus will come by an’ by,
An’ inch by inch He blessed my soul,
Jesus will come by an’ by.

CHORUS :—

“ Keep a-inchin’ along, keep a-inchin’ along,
Jesus will come by an’ by,
Keep a-inchin’ along like the poor inch worm,
Jesus will come by an’ by.’ ”

They believed in and sang of the practical Christian virtues :

“ Go read the fifth of Matthew,
An’ read the chapter through ;
It is a guide fer Christians,
An’ it tells ’em what ter do.”

Again :

“ You say you’re aimin’ fer de skies ;
Why don’t you stop yer tellin’ lies ?
You say de Lord has set you free ;
Why don’t you let yer neighbour be ? ”

Again :

“ Watch that sun, how steady she come,
Don't let her ketch ye wid yer work undone.”

They wanted and prayed to be holy, and knew
it must be through love :

“ Oh, make a-me holy, holy, I do love, I do
love ;
Make a-me holy, holy, I do love, I do love de
Lord.”

They believed in heaven and with exulting joy
in the blessed life that would be their portion
they expressed their determined resolve to get
there :

“ Let my steps be many er few,
By an' by, by an' by,
I mean ter keep heaven in view,
By an' by, by an' by.

“ Oh, when the storms of life are over,
We shall anchor in the harbour,
We will praise our God forever,
By an' by, by an' by.”

They triumphed over “ Jordan's stream, so
chilly an' cole,” when they sang :

“ I looked over Jordan, an' what did I see,
Comin' fer ter carry me home ?
A band of angels, comin' after me,
Comin' fer ter carry me home.

CHORUS :—

“ Swing low, sweet chariot,
Comin’ fer ter carry me home.”

Within the “ pearly gates ” of the heavenly city they will “ lay down my heavy load ” and walk “ de golden streets ” “ all robed in white ” meeting with sainted fathers, mothers, sisters, and brothers whom the “ pale horse an’ rider have taken away,” and with whom they will dwell in “ de manshums in de skies.”

They felt a keen sense of pleasure in the defeat their redemption brought to Satan, whom they described as a “ liar and a conjurer too ” :

“ Ol’ Satan’s mad an’ I am glad ;
That’s what Satan’s a-grumblin’ about ;
He missed that soul he thought he had,
That’s what Satan’s a-grumblin’ about.”

They accepted the great commission to deliver the gospel message to others :

“ I’ll take my gospel trumpet,
An’ I’ll begin to blow,
An’ if my Saviour helps me
I’ll blow wherever I go.”

They exhorted others :

“ Go and tell everybody,
Yes, Jesus is risen from the dead.”

The sinner is plead with in their revival meetings :

"Sinner, please don't let this harvest pass,
An' die an' lose your soul at las'."

He is encouraged to come to Jesus :

"Come on, mourner, make a bound,
De Lord will meet you on half-way ground."

He is warned of the terrible judgment day lest he should be among those who cry out :

"Rocks an' mountains, please fall on me."

They believed in the angels, especially "Gabriel and his trumpet," and the "angel band" that carried them to heaven on wings "tipped with gold." Their songs are filled with reference to Bible incidents and characters that testify to their acquaintance with the Word of God and also to their ability to draw practical lessons from it. Noah and the ark prefigure salvation and safety in the Church. Moses, chosen by God to lead His people out of bondage, is an especial favourite and they claimed the deliverance of the Israelites as a promise of their own liberation :

"Our bondage 'll have an end by an' by.
Jehovah rules de tide an' de water He'll divide,
Oh, de way He'll open wide
By an' by, by an' by."

"Little David," who played on his harp and "killed Goliath," is emblematic of the Christian's

conquest over sin, as is also "Joshua the son of Nun," who "never would quit till the work was done." Jonah is used as a warning to those who refuse to preach when called. Daniel, cast in the lions' den on account of his praying habit and delivered by the Lord, was a familiar subject in their preaching, and of him they sang:

"Dan'l wuz a prayin' man;
He pray t'ree times er day;
De Lord He hist de winder
Fer to hear po' Dan'l pray."

They sympathized with "weepin' Mary" and "doubtin' Thomas," and alluded to all the apostles by name. John and his apocalyptic visions were of the deepest interest to them and they exhorted him:

"Tell all de world, John,
'I know de odder world's not like this.'"

This, perhaps too long, digression in the presentation of the song side of the early religious life of the Negro serves to show the bases upon which later development was to build. It is needless to say that with the educated classes these melodies are now regarded as relics of the past, and that with perhaps a few exceptions they have no place in their religious services of to-day. They use instead the same hymns and "gospel songs" that are used by white congregations,

some of the latter having not as much music or religion as those they have discarded.

God grant that soul culture may be kept in line with mental culture in the Negro's progress. There is every reason to hope that it will be, since much of the help that has come to him has come from the Church of God and, still more, because of his own religious temperament. In God's great plan for the redemption of the world who can say what part of His purpose is reserved for this race to accomplish? Let the race look to it that it be ready to carry out that purpose when made manifest by Him who rules the hearts and destinies of men and of worlds.

THE PRESENT NEED OF MISSION WORK

We have seen the great extent of missionary effort for the Negro which has been made along educational lines, and also that to the schools established and maintained in his midst is due not only his mental development but much of the religious advancement that has come to him since his emancipation. Missionary work for him has not, however, been limited to the schools and to that which emanated from the schools. Direct work has been done in the building of churches, and in the support of the regular ministry, and, to some extent, of lay missionaries. It would afford both an interesting and inspiring study to take the records of each denomination

and sum up the united efforts of the Church of God to Christianize the American Negro. From such study a new light of hope would come with the knowledge of how much the Negro churches themselves have done and are doing for the redemption of their own race. Many men and women among them are consecrating their lives to this work, and still more are giving to it liberally—not out of their abundance, but out of their poverty. The very fact that so much has been done in the past with such large results only emphasizes the importance of continuing through this work to obey our Lord's command. Not only did He commission us to preach the Gospel to every creature, but "to teach all nations" to "observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." To those acquainted with the facts it is unnecessary to say that we have not yet taught this nation to know and observe the "all things" of Christ. Nor does this statement surprise those who have knowledge of missionary work among any people. It is well, therefore, to pause before we complete this volume of the Negro's life story to consider what shall be the next onward step towards his full development in Christian life. What needs to be done in the lines of work begun, what new efforts should be put forth? We will begin with the most important factor of the Negro church of to-day and the future—its ministry.

THE NEED OF THE MINISTRY

That there is great need of improvement in the Negro ministry is an evident fact. To simply say "they must be better educated" is an easy way to escape the question. Education for the Negro preacher means as much as it does for the white man, but it is well known that the fact of a preacher's being well educated does not necessarily give him success in dealing with the ignorant mass of the people. The education of the Negro preacher, especially the man who is to be a pastor, must be of such a character as will keep him in close sympathetic touch with the natural life of the people, so that he will know how to lead "softly on" these "little ones" of God's kingdom. Knowing their trials, temptations, ignorance, superstition, and sins, he should use a language that they can understand in order to administer comfort, to strengthen, teach, and rebuke without driving them away by an assumption of superiority. He should be *endued with the Spirit* and by His wisdom so present the love and purity of the Gospel and its rewards, both here and hereafter, as that if the emotional member must shout it may be the heart's true expression, based upon knowledge of the truth. He also needs to know how to discipline his flock and deal with flagrant sins impartially and justly, manifesting hatred of sin even while loving the sinner. *And his life must exemplify his teaching.*

It is not simply education that is needed, but education of the *right kind*. He must not only know books, but he must know the people. He must not only know the Bible, but he must know how to use it as the sword of the Spirit, a light to the feet, a message of comfort. He must live a righteous life, above reproach, especially in his intercourse with the women of his congregation. He should have business sense, social tact, patience, perseverance, courageous hope, and, above all, unfailing love. This is the *ideal* pastor. Yes, and it should be the standard towards which all pastors should aim. The ideal Negro preacher should have all those qualities of head and heart that the priestly office requires of any other races for he, as all who fill the sacred office, stands as an ambassador of God before his people and as an example for their lives.

Where are such men to be found? God is able to raise up Negro men, is raising them up, "called to be apostles" to their race even as He has done at other times for other peoples, and often where and when they were least expected. But it remains for those who pray for such "wise shepherds" to make them ready to feed and care for the flock. The men who are at the head of their educational institutions and theological seminaries need to pray also for themselves that God may help them to a better understanding of the Negro race and its need, and

may give them wisdom to teach their pastors how to meet it.

Outside the regular pastorate there is another factor of power at work in the Church—the Negro evangelists. Some of these are of good and some of indifferent quality; some are responsible to the Church for the character of work done, others are responsible only to themselves for their work and its results. To enforce that which is good and hinder that which is bad there should be missionary evangelists prepared for the work and appointed to it by mission boards to whom they will be responsible, and from whom they will receive, so far as is necessary, their support.

These evangelists should be something more than “heralds” of the Gospel, or exhorters to sinners; they should not pass hastily from one ignorant church to another, leaving their converts to slip back for lack of instruction in the truth they have accepted. They should be not only spiritual men whose lives are above reproach, but men well trained in the Scriptural requirements of righteous living and be able to teach its ethics plainly and frankly as a rule for the daily life. Besides the preaching services they should hold simple Bible readings and before leaving a community they ought to organize Bible study classes in the church, giving their leaders very practical instructions as to how to continue the work and directing them to the proper helps in their study.

There were evangelists of power among the Negroes in the olden times, such as "Black Harry" and many others; and who that has heard the Bible readings of Amanda Smith can doubt that there exist to-day men and women among them who are not only "fervent in spirit" but are able to teach the deep things of the Spirit, and from them, righteous living?

These evangelistic efforts coupled with Bible study should be extended into the rural districts where they are greatly needed, as well as in the cities. They would be of great value to the ignorant masses there who can never have the advantage of much, if any, Bible instruction in the schools. The pastors would be much helped by these evangelists in their future work if they are the men that they should be to have charge of churches.

PLANTATION MISSIONS

We have seen how in the past a great work for the Negro was done through what was called "plantation missions." Eliminate the fact of bond slavery and on many large cotton, sugar, and rice plantations to-day conditions may be found similar to those of the past, owing to the poverty and ignorance of large numbers of farm labourers and their families. These people need a work done for them somewhat similar to that which was done for their ancestors. They

are too ignorant to know their own needs and if they knew them they are too poor to meet them, as they could not pay the salaries of the right kind of preachers, or build decent places of worship. Let their poverty and ignorance be met to-day by the Church as it was met by the Church and the masters in the past. Let the wisdom and money of mission boards of white and coloured churches unite in establishing plantation missions by building neat, plain churches where they are needed and by paying the salaries of missionary workers, men and women, who are consecrated and qualified. Put circuits of several plantations each in charge of men who can not only preach on the Sabbath but teach Bible classes and do true, instructive pastoral visiting, and a great change for the better will be manifest in a few years.

Here, too, is a large opportunity for the coloured deaconess or Bible reader to visit and work in the home, to uplift and guide the women and girls as no man can. She could also hold mothers' meetings, teach sewing schools and Bible classes, and prove an angel of mercy as well as a teacher of righteousness on many a plantation in the "back country." Ought not the large number of church schools to furnish the women suited to such work, and might not the money be obtained for the specific training which they would need?

CITY MISSIONS

The Negro life in the city presents the same extremes that are to be found in the white urban population. There are the richest, best educated, most refined representatives of the race, who have good churches and good homes and are not in any wise to be considered as objects of missionary effort. In fact, it is through this class that much of the city missionary work of the future should be done for the redemption of the Negro slums. The sad conditions existing in these wretched quarters do not differ greatly from those existing in slums inhabited by white people.

The kind of work done successfully in the Negro slum and the methods used do not vary materially from those that have been successfully employed for the same class of people of other races. The Christian settlement and institutional church with all the various forms of service for which they stand would be very effective if properly managed and sustained in both Northern and Southern cities. Possibly their influence upon the Negro would be more effective than upon any other people, for the Negro, even in the slums, has not yet become alienated from the Church nor has he given up church attendance as is the case with the denizens of foreign slums unless they are Roman Catholics. The Church is still the centre of his social as well as

religious life and he is willing to receive from it instruction and direction. The Negro slum is ready for the installation of such work in its midst and the churches should not lose to-day's opportunity to reach the hundreds of thousands there who through disease, ignorance, and sin are sinking lower and lower in the scale of life. "Out of the depths" they are crying to the Church of God and in the name of God the Church should go to their deliverance.

The methods of accomplishing this work must of course be fitted to the locality, its conditions, and its needs. It will be necessary that the missionary be a friend, freely admitted into the home if the home, where the need is greatest, is to be benefited. Admission usually is not difficult with this impulsive, affectionate, and in many respects unreserved race. Once convince them that their good is desired, by going about the work kindly and patiently, with consideration for their feelings, and their confidence is gained and coöperation secured. Consecrated, trained coloured men and women can do more effective missionary work among their own people than can those of another race.

Day nurseries and kindergartens are valuable features of institutional work for the children of a race where the mother is so frequently the bread-winner and away from home. They furnish the opportunity of impressing moral precepts

and religious truths upon the child at its most impressionable age, and of forming habits for them of physical cleanliness. They also make possible the instruction of the mothers in the care of children and in maintaining sanitary conditions in their homes, the lack of which causes infant mortality to be alarmingly great among Negroes.

Sewing classes for girls (giving them the garments made by themselves) lead to the better making and repairing of comfortable clothing, rather than the purchase of ragged second-hand finery for which so much of their money is wasted. Kitchen garden classes have been found especially interesting and helpful to half-grown girls because this objective teaching appeals to them. Cooking-schools for older girls and women should give plain, practical instruction as to the character of foods and their preparation in accordance with what their condition makes possible. Premiums given for well-prepared simple dishes would have a good effect by inciting to ambitious effort. The result of such instruction would be a healthier home for the housekeeper and more remunerative employment for those who go out to service. Clubs for men, women, boys and girls all have their beneficial results here as elsewhere. Playgrounds, miniature farming and truck gardening, gymnasiums with bathing facilities, well conducted and with proper instruction present most

desirable preventive missionary work that is both destructive of evil and constructive of good.

No missionary work for the Negro can be fully successful that does not consider his physical condition and seek to alleviate his sufferings from preventive diseases by teaching sanitation in the home, personal cleanliness and chastity of habit, freedom from superstitious practices and the rejection of quacks and their nostrums. Of course poverty and ignorance will present obstacles to such work with the Negro as with the lower classes of other races, but these can be at least partly overcome by the use of right methods and by *patience*. To the foreign field the Church sends missionary physicians as well as teachers and evangelists, and the same plan should be used in the home mission work of the Church. There is no phase of home missions where this threefold work is more needed than among the Negroes. The trained Christian Negro as a missionary physician would be found invaluable in the slums of the cities, in mining camps and wherever the Negroes are congregated.

In the home and domestic life lies the largest opportunity for the missionary doctor as well as pastor. The coloured deaconess and trained nurse also have here a great and effectual door waiting wide open for their Christlike ministry to the sorrowing, the suffering, and the erring. Many aching hearts among the poor, hard-work-

ing coloured women, cowering under almost insupportable burdens, are awaiting the word of sympathy and hope to save them from despair and sin. Many there are, too, who must suffer and die and see their loved ones suffer and die because they are ignorant of those things that relate to health and the care of the sick, knowledge that a nurse could impart. There are many young girls and older women whom the hand and prayer of the deaconess might keep from the path of sin or lead back if their feet have already strayed.

WHO WILL DO THIS WORK

From whence are the workers for such mission enterprises to come? Where else but from the church schools and colleges for Negroes now being maintained largely by missionary money? If the principals and teachers of these institutions are truly missionary in spirit, as they should be and as many of them are, they will instil the same spirit into their pupils and lead them to consecrate their lives to the saving and uplifting of their people.

In all the schools there should be regular, thorough study of the Bible of such a character as will give not only literary, historical, and geographical information, but a knowledge of its spiritual truths and ethical lessons. The Bible so taught will not only be "a savour of life unto

life" to the pupils, but make them men and women "prepared unto every good word and work" when they go back to their homes to be teachers in the Sunday-schools and Bible study circles, and to become missionaries. It will give a rock basis on which men and women may build their professional education whether it be as preacher, teacher, physician, deaconess or nurse. It will be as grappling irons holding the business man to honest dealings. It will be a strong wall around the Negro home and a shield to the virtue of woman. "My Word shall not return unto Me void, but shall accomplish that whereunto it is sent" is *God's* promise.

While much of this missionary work can best be done by the Negroes for their own people now, and the promise is bright for still more to be done by them in the future with their fuller training, the time has not yet come for the white race to cease its help, nor will it come until we have done still more to develop this "backward race" which by a strange providence has been placed in the reach of our helping hand. There rests upon us the debt always due from the strong to the weak. White mission boards and white philanthropists must continue yet longer to give to and guide the work of educating and Christianizing "our brother in black."

In the annals of the Church and philanthropy not much recognition has been given to the

purely local work which has been done and is being done by Southern men and women to aid the Negro along every line of his progress. Possibly this is because they have not exploited their work, but have set it down to the score of individual love and personal interest rather than made a church record of it. It would be difficult to find a Negro church, school, orphanage, hospital or any institution projected by them for which Southern white people have not contributed to its building and maintenance. There is a continued outflow to them of benevolence in various forms from the white home, church societies, and public charities.

In many Southern cities the white ministry is aiding the coloured ministry in presenting the Gospel to their people whenever pulpit opportunity offers, and such opportunities are not rare. In many instances they give practical and valuable aid to pastors in their studies and preparation of sermons, with wholesome advice as to church methods and discipline. More of this work, perhaps, should be done but those who understand fully the present situation will appreciate the many difficulties in the way. Here, too, it is to be hoped that the future holds many possibilities of brotherly help not now existing.

Christian laymen and women also have a large local opportunity to help the coloured people by teaching Sunday afternoon Bible classes and in

aiding them to plan and conduct various lines of work for social and religious betterment, nor have they been neglectful of this opportunity. Large classes are being taught in the churches, and smaller bands of Sunday-school teachers and Christian workers are being instructed in private homes. There is also a great volume of personal Christian work and industrial training done for those who come into homes as domestic servants.

That Southern white Christians ought to do much more in these lines is undoubtedly true of them as of those who have the same opportunity in other sections for other races. They know, though others may not, how truly and nobly their parents worked for the civilization and Christianizing of the Negro slaves. The providence of God continues to entrust the fate of the Negro to the South. The South cannot escape the trust if it would; it should not want to escape it if it could. A large number of its people are trying to fulfill nobly their duty to the Negro of to-day amid many hindrances. In doing this there will come a better knowledge, each of the other, on the best side, and a bettering of each other because this Christly connection in Christian work will bring closer together those of both races who truly love their Lord.

LIGHT AHEAD

The presence of two great races in our land,

living a close yet divided existence, presents a unique situation in the history of the world. That there should be antagonism and prejudice one towards the other is natural, since by nature they belong to the two divisions of the human family most diverse in racial qualities and traditions. That there should be so little conflict and so much personal kindliness is the marvel of those who look unprejudiced upon the situation from the outside. The spirit of helpfulness in the stronger race has been demonstrated by unnumbered deeds of active benevolence. These have been acknowledged by the less developed race with grateful appreciation. Satisfactory results for the latter are manifested in the fruits of industrial advancement, growing patriotism, mental activity and a broader Christianity, and through and by it all there is a development of power from within, leading to a self-dependence and self-reliance that will require less and less from without. This gain for the one does not mean loss for the other, but additional gain. There have been many places along the way which they have travelled together where an Ebenezer might have been set up proclaiming to the world, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."

Whatever the problem that exists, it involves both races at the North and at the South, and its solution cannot be accomplished by one race. It must be a dual work, not done separately, but

unitedly, with mutual trust and effort. It will require love and sacrifice from both, and also truth and justice from both. It will demand the highest, sanest thought of the trained and developed intellect of the two races to grasp and conjointly master the situation with all its complex conditions. It will require all the heroic courage and martyr faith of which both races are capable to struggle and faint not until the victory shall come, as come it surely will. How any great national or religious problem is to be worked out through the years, God who works in us and through us alone knows. But that He has worked hitherto and is still working through us to accomplish His will for both races is manifest. The great processes by which it is to come are already in motion and their momentum is increasing. The future is hidden from us, but faith sees beyond the veil and triumphant cries, "The Lord God omnipotent reigneth." Not by chance but by His hand the world was made and those that dwell upon it. By His hand does He sustain and guide the sun in its course and by His hand the life of humanity in its development is directed step by step ever towards Himself. All history proves this to be true in the past and the God-implanted aspirations within us demand its truth for the future. This truth has in it the very essence of God's nature and is too broad and deep to be restricted to one world in His

universe, far less to one race in our world. God's truth means a justice to all that will not brook that any race be counted out of the great law of love which is over all for the good of all.

* * * * *

I stood at an open window and looked upon an extended landscape. The summer sky was overspread with heavy clouds that cast dark shadows on all around me, making nature's beauty dim. But looking out beyond I saw far ahead the sunshine lying golden on a distant mountain. Watching with glad expectancy I saw the clouds, with their shadows, gradually rolling back and the sunlit space widening and drawing ever nearer and nearer until at last the whole land was flooded with its radiance. The sun looked down upon me—the clouds had passed away.

Courage, doubting heart! Hope on, trusting heart, whether thou beatest in a white or black breast! The clouds have hung low, they still overshadow us in the present, but behind the clouds the Sun of Righteousness has light for the world. The joy of His redeeming presence draweth ever nearer, the clouds are rolling away, for with Him there is light and life forever more. "Wait on the Lord: be of good courage, and He shall strengthen thine heart: wait, I say, on the Lord."

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are the evidences of growth in Negro church organizations ?
2. In what directions are they best developed ?
3. What of the coloured Young Men's Christian Association ?
4. Describe some of the financial and moral conditions, and methods of work in the churches as found in the country and principal cities of the South and North.
5. What is said of the elements of emotionalism in the religious life of the Negro ?
6. How did their songs prove that they had an orthodox theology in the past, and what does this mean for the future ?
7. What are some of the present needs of mission work ?
8. What of the ministry and its preparation ?
9. Why are "plantation missions" needed ?
10. What kind of mission work does the city slum need ?
11. Who are to be the workers and from whence shall they come ?
12. What is the hope for the future ?
13. Is there not light ahead ?

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VII

WORK OF THE WOMAN'S HOME
MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

VII

WORK OF THE WOMAN'S HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

WOMAN'S AMERICAN BAPTIST HOME MISSION SOCIETY

Headquarters, 2969 Vernon Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

(Consolidation of the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society, Headquarters, Boston, Mass., and the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society, Headquarters, Chicago, Illinois.)

IT is the purpose of the consolidated society to continue all the work previously carried on by the two societies.

The work of the Women's Baptist Home Mission Society among Africans in America was begun soon after its organization in 1877, by the appointment of Miss Joanna P. Moore, who had then spent nearly fourteen years in working for the freed people.

✓ From this beginning the work has steadily grown until with the opening of 1909 the missionaries of the Society among coloured people number forty-eight, of whom eighteen are white and forty coloured. These are stationed at forty-four different points in nineteen states. Twelve

of this number are serving as matrons or preceptresses in schools for coloured people.

One of the most important features of this Society has been Missionary Training Schools for Negro women. The first was opened in 1892, in connection with Shaw University in Raleigh, and a second, in 1895, as a department of Bishop College, Marshall, Texas. Later the two schools were united at Dallas, Texas. A large proportion of the coloured workers employed by the Society are graduates of these schools.

The "Fireside School," a unique line of work, was inaugurated by Miss J. P. Moore in 1892. By this plan parents and children are pledged to daily Bible reading and study in family circles, and this has been a wonderful power for the betterment of the lives and homes of these people. About ten thousand families are enrolled on the fireside school records.

The Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society has supported forty-one teachers in eight schools and colleges among the coloured people of the South. These schools are located in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana.

The work ranges from the kindergarten to the college course. Many lines of industrial work are also taught, including dressmaking, millinery, printing, and domestic science. A department for the training of nurses is maintained in con-

nection with the McVicar Hospital at Spelman Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia. Spelman Seminary also provides a thorough course in normal training.

The object of these schools is to provide a Christian education for those who attend, such as will fit them to become leaders among their own people, both in the Church and the school. They go out to fill places of great usefulness as wives and mothers, teachers, pastors' assistants, Sunday-school workers, and missionaries at home and abroad.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

Central Office, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City

Congregational work for the Negro race in the South is done through the American Missionary Association. This Association was the first in the field, entering upon it during the Civil War. It has founded and supported many notable schools, some of which have since become independent. Its work for more than forty years has been distinguished for its extent and quality. Since 1860 its expenditure for Negro work exceeds \$14,000,000. At the present time it sustains for the Negroes sixty-three schools, of which twenty-eight are of high school and college grade and three theological. Its pupils

number over 13,000. Its Negro churches number one hundred and seventy-three with nearly 12,000 members. Instructors and missionaries number five hundred and seventy-seven. It expended on Negro work in the last year \$290,292.39, including \$53,682.98 for tuition. The American Missionary Association has a strong grasp on the situation and adheres to the principles and methods necessary in the redemption of a race. It was the first to introduce industrial education, but it subordinates everything to its great purpose of developing Christian character and training race leaders through moral and intellectual discipline.

In the above work, the Federation of Women's Congregational Home Missionary State Organizations coöperates.

WOMAN'S HOME MISSION SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH

Headquarters, 810 Broadway, Nashville, Tenn.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and the Coloured Methodist Episcopal Church jointly own and manage two colleges for young Negro men and women, both churches bearing equal responsibility and cost of maintenance. At one of these schools, Paine College, Augusta, Ga., the Woman's Home Mission Society owns

a dormitory for girls and supports an industrial department for their training in all forms of domestic science. This department is so correlated with the college courses as to enable the students of the advanced classes to have especial benefit of this practical preparation for life. The last report showed one hundred and ninety-two young women taking the course in laundering, cooking, plain sewing, dressmaking, and millinery. The students who have gone out from Paine College have made themselves felt as an intelligent Christian force for the uplift of the Negroes among whom they have lived and worked.

In many cities and towns the auxiliaries of this society conduct Bible classes for Negroes or direct their Sunday-school teachers' meetings. At Marshallville, Americus, and Macon, Georgia, Richmond, Kentucky, and in North Carolina this work has been systematically carried on with satisfactory results. Many leaders among the Negro women in mission work date their inspiration and training to this work inaugurated by the auxiliaries.

In Nashville, Tenn., the students at the Methodist Training-school do much practical work in the Coloured Methodist Episcopal Church. Mothers' meetings, sewing classes, and Bible classes have been carried on under the supervision of the Bible teacher of that school.

WOMAN'S HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH*Headquarters, 222 West Fourth Street, Cincinnati, O.*

The Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church began educational and evangelistic work among the coloured people of the South at New Orleans in 1880. The Society early chose for its work the industrial training of girls, together with elementary education for such as were without school privileges. The first Industrial Home for Girls was at Atlanta, Georgia, the girls receiving instruction in housekeeping, cooking, sewing, and laundry work, while attending the Freedmen's Aid School. There are now in the care of this Society fourteen industrial homes for Negro girls, seven of which have in connection with them the Society's schools for elementary education. Sixty-two teachers are employed and the property in use is valued at \$150,000. These industrial homes and schools are in eight of the Southern states.

A small hospital established for the training of coloured nurses at Jacksonville, Florida, has graduated several capable nurses.

The teachers in the schools are active in social and religious work among the people. They visit the sick, hold mothers' meetings in which both industrial and religious instruction is given, superintend or give instruction in Sunday school,

lead young people's meetings, and endeavour by all available means to fit those under their care to become intelligent Christian leaders of their own people.

CHRISTIAN WOMAN'S BOARD OF MISSIONS, CHURCH
OF CHRIST (DISCIPLES)

Headquarters, 152 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

There are five schools for Negroes supported by this Society: Southern Christian Institute, Edwards, Mississippi, has over two hundred pupils coming from about a dozen states besides Jamaica. It has regular school work with such industrial features as printing, agriculture, factory, housekeeping, sewing, and domestic science. Here *The Gospel Plea* is published. Value of property, \$85,000 including a 1,300 acre plantation. One of the graduates has established a school in Liberia, Africa.

Louisville Christian Bible College, Louisville, Kentucky, is for the training of ministers.

Graduates from the Southern Christian Institute have helped to make the work of Lum Graded School, Lum, Alabama, a success. The principal says, "The Christian Woman's Board of Missions has done for our people what we could not do ourselves."

Martinsville Christian Institute, Martinsville,

Virginia, conducts preparatory and industrial courses, also a Bible department. A good school at Jonesboro, Tennessee, came under the control of the Christian Woman's Board of Missions in October, 1908. By the gifts from Negro churches another school is to be established in Texas.

Evangelistic work is conducted in thirteen states. Amount spent yearly, about \$26,000. Woman's missionary societies are organized as rapidly as possible.

WOMEN'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD
OF DOMESTIC MISSIONS, REFORMED CHURCH IN
AMERICA

Headquarters, 25 East 22d Street, New York City

The Reformed Church in America has five missions among the coloured people, all of them in South Carolina. The oldest has been under the care of the Reformed Church since 1901 and the others were established in 1903 and 1904. The parochial school is an important feature of the work at each mission station. In these the coloured children are not only taught such subjects as are commonly taught in public schools, but they also receive, so far as limited resources and equipment will permit, an industrial training. The people are found to be appreciative of the educational facilities thus

afforded their children, facilities that are needed because of the inadequacy, in many communities, of the public schools for coloured children. Children who are connected with the parochial schools are also, for the most part, attendants at Sunday-school, and their parents are attracted to the church services. Religious instruction is also afforded in the week-day sessions of the schools. An important phase of the work is the influence which the lives of the coloured ministers and their families have upon the communities. Families that have been previously content with a one-room cabin have enlarged and improved their houses because of the example shown by the educated coloured people who lead in the mission work.

WOMAN'S HOME AND FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

Headquarters, Delaware, O.

Lutheran work among coloured people is of comparatively recent origin. In North Carolina there are four pastors, four teachers, five professors and twenty-one congregations, while in Louisiana there are five congregations, five pastors and eight teachers. One congregation is maintained in Virginia, one in Illinois, one in Missouri, and one in Washington, D. C. In

the schools connected with these mission stations there are upwards of fifteen hundred pupils.

Immanuel College at Greensboro, North Carolina, with splendidly equipped buildings, has an enrollment of 200 students, instructed by a faculty of five. Luther College in New Orleans is doing a fine work in preparing men for the gospel ministry. Both of these colleges had their origin in an effort to supply Negro ministers and teachers for the growing work of the Lutheran Church among the coloured people of the South. The training in these colleges is practical and industrial as well as intellectual, social and spiritual. The girls are organized into sewing classes, the boys are given manual training of various kinds, and all are given that which is the most important—a thorough training in religion.

Total amount annually expended, about \$74,500 including \$4,000 from coloured churches.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT OF FREEDMAN'S BOARD

Room 513, Bessemer Building, Pittsburg, Pa.

The Woman's Department of the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen had its beginning in the year 1884, when the General Assembly recommended that the Woman's

Executive Committee of Home Missions—now the Woman's Board of Home Missions—permit such societies already organized and under their care, as might desire to do so, to contribute to the Freedmen's cause, and that their treasurer forward all contributions designated for Freedmen to the Presbyterian Board of Missions for Freedmen, Pittsburg, Pa.

This was granted and many societies have contributed liberally and the amount has grown steadily, about \$73,500 being received and disbursed annually. This amount is used in the support of teachers and for maintenance and equipment of schools, also in the erection of new school buildings and dormitories.

The secretary of this Woman's Department is directed by the Board of Missions for Freedmen and works in harmony with the Woman's Board of Home Missions. Effort is made to keep in close touch with societies, and also with the work upon the field.

School work : one large school for young men only—Biddle University, at Charlotte, North Carolina—184 students. Five large seminaries for girls only—Scotia ; Ingleside ; Mary Holmes ; Mary Allen ; Barber Memorial—1,023 students. Sixteen co-educational boarding-schools—2,770 pupils. Ninety-two other schools—colleges, institutes, academies and parochials—9,599 pupils.
Total—114 schools—13,576 pupils.

REFERENCE BOOKS

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS, Atlanta, Georgia :

- No. 1. "Mortality Among Negroes in Cities."
- " 5. "The College Bred Negro."
- " 6. "The Negro Common School."
- " 7. "The Negro Artisan."
- " 8. "The Negro Church."
- " 11. "Health and Physique of the Negro American."
- " 12. "Economic Coöperation Among American Negroes."

DOWD: "The Negro Races," The Macmillan Co., New York.

DYER: "Democracy in the South Before the War," Smith & Lamar, Nashville, Tenn.

HARRIS: "Uncle Remus," Appleton, New York.

HARRISON & BARNES: "Gospel Among the Slaves," Smith & Lamar, Nashville, Tenn.

MURPHY: "Problems of the Present South," The Macmillan Co., New York.

NASSAU: "Fetichism in West Africa," Scribner's Sons, New York.

PAGE: "The Negro: the Southerner's Problem," Scribner's Sons, New York.

PAGE: "In Ole Virginia," Scribner's Sons, New York.

PARSONS: "Christus Liberator," The Macmillan Co., New York.

PYRNELLE: "Diddie Dump and Tot," Harper's, New York.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION, No. 6.

STRONG: "Social Progress in 1906," Baker & Taylor, New York.

THRASHER: "Tuskegee," Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

UNITED STATES CENSUS, 1900, Bulletin No. 8.

WASHINGTON: "The Future of the American Negro," Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

WASHINGTON: "Up from Slavery," Doubleday and Page, New York.

WORK: Jubilee Songs, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

FOURTH EDITION

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*From a lengthy review in
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